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THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF TIME,

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IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

Factorum est copia nobis.

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Res gestæ regumque, ducumque, et tristia bella.

VOL. XVI.

OR VOL. VII. OF THE MODERN PART.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ITALY, VENICE,

THE

ITALIAN STATES,

&c. &c.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES,

AUTHOR OF THE BRITISH NEPOS, *&c. &c.*

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MODERN HISTORY.

ITALY.

CHAP. I.

The Carlovingian Kings of Italy.

ITALY, once the splendid theatre on which were displayed the wondrous and heroick scenes of Roman devotion, and of Roman courage, afterwards the voluptuous seat of the most exquisite and most seductive refinements of luxury and of effeminacy, was at last subdued by the Franks, under Charlemagne, who, after taking prisoner Desiderius the king of the Lombards, and reducing Pavia, their capital, at Monza, received the crown of Italy, A. D. 774. from the hands of the archibishop of Milan. Then all Lombardy offered to him allegiance, and he confirmed to the popes the sovereignty of their dominions. Thus conqueror of Italy, the southern provinces excepted, he returned to France, taking with him Desiderius, respecting whose fate there exists not any certain information.

Upon his departure, the Lombard dukes of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, revolted; but Charlemagne quickly marched into Italy, and,

defeating Rotgand, duke of Friuli, whom he afterwards beheaded, by victory stopped the progress of revolt. Other schemes of ambition and of conquest then induced him to return; when again the Lombards, espousing the cause of Adalgise the son of Desiderius, threatened to revolt, and again Charles marched into Italy. At Pavia, having called an assembly of the states, and published several laws, he continued his journey to Rome, where he was ho-
A. D. 781. nourably received by pope Adrian, by whom also his youngest son Lewis was crowned king of Aquitaine, and his eldest son Pepin, king of Lombardy; when, leaving him in Italy, he himself returned into Germany.

The tranquillity of the first years of Pepin's reign was soon interrupted by the schemes of the empress Irene, who determined on restoring Adalgise, and concluded a treaty with Arechis, duke of Benevento, who had already assumed the title of prince, and Tassillon, duke of Bavaria, his brother-in-law. Charlemagne being informed of this, immediately marched over the Alps into Italy. At Florence, having ordered the city, which had been ruined by Totila, to be rebuilt, he marched through Rome into Campania, and Arechis twice sued for peace, which, on the hardest terms, was granted to him. Upon Charles's return into Germany, he determined to punish Tassillon, who finding himself surrounded, submitted, and, on giving his son Theodon as a hostage, was pardoned; but the following year, being accused of having invited the Hunns to invade the Franks, he with his son was shut up in a cloister; and the Hunns

invading Germany and Friuli, were, with much loss, obliged to return to Pannonia. While Pepin was engaged in opposing the Hunns, Adalgise with an army of Greeks arrived in Calabria. Soon after their landing, however, Grimoald prince of Benevento, Hildebrand duke of Spoleto, and Vinigise general of Pepin, with the forces under their command, attacked them, routed them, and put Adalgise to death. Two years after this, pope Adrian dying, Leo was chosen, who immediately informed Charlemagne of his election, and transmitting to him the keys of the confession of St. Peter, and the standard of the city, requested that he would send one of his nobles to take to him the oath of allegiance from the Romans. A. D. 795.

As the Hunns at this time infested Italy, the duke af Friuli, a Frank by nation, marched with an army into Pannonia, defeated their generals, plundered the royal palace, and sent its riches to Charlemagne. At the same time, Pepin also invaded Hungary, and enriched his army with spoil. At Rome, in the following year, in the church of St. Stephen, on St. George's day, as the pope was preparing to celebrate the service for that saint, he was thrown down by conspirators, stripped of his robes, and wounded in several places, then thrust, half dead, into the monastery of St. Erasmus, under a strong guard: but Alcuin, one of his domesticks, artfully deceiving the guard, at midnight conducted his master into the church of St. Peter, whence he was soon after rescued by the duke of Spoleto, and being obliged to seek protection in Germany, was honourably received by Charlemagne,

who, fearing lest the faction that opposed him might apply to the emperor of the east for aid, immediately marched into Italy, and hastened to Rome to determine his cause. The bishops refusing, on the day of his trial, to judge their superior, the pope swore upon the gospels that he was not guilty; having sworn, he was declared innocent. Grateful to Charlemagne, he then induced the senators to revive in his favour the title of emperor of the Romans; and on Christmas-day, when he knelt at the altar of the Vatican church, the pope threw a rich cloak over his shoulders, put a golden crown upon his head, and proclaimed him Augustus, crowned by God, the great and most pious emperor of the Romans.

A. D. 800.

For some years war had been carried on in Benevento, but a truce was now concluded with Grimoald: yet Pepin was twice obliged to repulse the Saracens, and twice to oppose the Greeks who supported a hostile Venetian faction, while a third time the Saracens invaded Sardinia, and plundering the city of Aleria, carried away the inhabitants captives. Next year also war was waged against the Venetians with vigour, but unsuccessfully on the part of Pepin, who lived not long after.

A. D. 810.

Charlemagne then gave the kingdom of Italy to Bernard the son of Pepin, and concluded a peace with the emperor of the east, ceding to him the sovereignty of Venice. Two years after this, he sent Bernard into Italy against the Moors, who then turning their arms upon Corsica and Sardinia, were almost entirely cut off. It was at this time that Grimoald, consenting to

pay a yearly tribute of twenty-seven thousand crowns of gold, concluded a peace with the emperor. Next year, the Saracens unsuccessfully invaded Sardinia, but plundered Civita Vecchia; they plundered also Nice in Provence, and in their return were defeated at Sardinia. Peace was now enjoyed throughout the dominions of Charlemagne, who sent for Lewis his son, and declaring him his heir, crowned him emperor at Aix la Chapelle; while he ordered Bernard to be crowned king of Italy, at Monza, by the archbishop of Milan. Charles did not long survive this ceremony, but died of pleurisy, on the twenty-eighth of January, in the seventieth year of his age. A. D. 814.

Two years after this, pope Leo dying, was succeeded by Stephen IV. who immediately ordered the Romans to take the oath of allegiance to Lewis, and soon after going himself into Germany, crowned the emperor at Rheims. Returning to Rome, he died soon after, and was succeeded by Pascal, to whom Lewis, certain ceremonies over, renewed the grant of his father in favour of the Roman see. He then caused his eldest son Lotharius to be crowned emperor, Pepin his second son king of Aquitaine, and Lewis king of Bavaria. Bernard, who had the preferable right, now revolted; Lewis therefore marched into Italy, when his nephew being deserted, threw himself at his feet: yet Lewis ordered his eyes to be put out, which soon put a period to his life. While this was transacting, Radelchis, count of Campania, also assassinated Grimoald, prince of Benevento, and, as the Lombard nobles were guilty of every excess, Lotharius was sent into A. D. 818.

Italy, crowned at Monza, by the archbishop of Milan, and then by the pope, king of Italy and emperor.

At Rome, pope Pascal died, and was succeeded by Eugenius, in the midst of the contest of factions, to which the presence of Lotharius at last put an end. Eugenius dying, was succeeded by Valentine, and he, in a month, was succeeded by Gregory IV. In the mean time, the intrigues of Judith the empress, in favour of her infant son Charles, excited her husband's three eldest sons, by Hermingarde, a former queen, to rebel. Judith had prevailed with the emperor to intrust the administration to Bernard count of Barcelona, her gallant, who was suspected of intriguing with her, for the purpose of destroying the emperor, and cutting off his sons. Pepin therefore assembled an army, and marched to Verberie, to seize the empress and Bernard; whom the emperor then sent to his government. Judith was forced by Pepin to take the veil, in the abbey of St. Radegond; and Lotharius joining the rebels, the emperor was secured, but treated with respect; while the power remained with Lotharius, who having seized Herbert, brother of Bernard, ordered his eyes to be put out; and trusting the emperor to the care of some monks, advised them to prevail on him to retire from the world. But these monks, far from assisting his design, brought over Pepin and Lewis; and, at the assembly of Nimeguen, enabled the emperor to recover his authority; when sending for Lotharius, he seriously and affectionately explained to him his crime: Lotharius then threw himself at his feet, and was pardoned, but deprived of his

title. Thus peace was once more restored to the empire. A short time after, however, instigated by Bernard, count of Barcelona, who found he had lost his authority, the emperor's sons were again induced to rebel; Lewis submitted and was pardoned; Pepin was summoned before his father, and made prisoner; but escaping on the road to Triers, he posted into Aquitaine, and harassed the imperial army, which so exasperated the emperor, that, at the solicitation of Judith, his kingdom was given to Charles. Lotharius also marched from Italy against his father, and entering Alsace was joined by his brothers. The pope unsuccessfully endeavoured to mediate between them; while Lotharius, by bribing the emperor's soldiers, brought them over to his army. Lewis, thus abandoned, on condition of his life and his liberty, surrendered to his son, but soon after was made prisoner, and deposed; against which the pope then protested. At Compeigne, A. D. Lotharius declared himself emperor, and 835. his father was condemned to publick penance and the strictest imprisonment. But Lewis and Pepin soon demanding his liberty, the emperor was rescued, and Lotharius obliged to sue for pardon, and return into Italy. The coasts of Italy were now infested by the Saracens; but Lotharius, on his return, instead of defending his own kingdom encroached on the territories of the Roman see, and was only induced to desist by a mandate from the emperor. Two years afterwards, Pepin king of Aquitaine dying, Lotharius was sent for from Italy, and the empire being divided, one lot was given to him, and the other to his half brother Charles, Bavaria

remaining to Lewis. Lotharius then returned to Italy, where he continued till the death of his father, of which when he was informed, he assembled an army, marched into France, and was acknowledged emperor.

Soon after this, he began to usurp the dominions of his brothers, who joining their forces, engaged his, near Fontenay; where, after one hundred thousand men had fallen on both sides, they routed his army, forced him to retire to Lyons and Vienna, and divided his kingdom between them. Lotharius then begged a new partition of the empire, to which his brothers prudently acceding, the countries on the Rhine, from the Rhine to the Scheld, on the Scheld, and on the Maese, the kingdom of Italy, and the title of emperor were given to Lotharius; Germany was ceded to Lewis, and France to Charles. In the following year, Lotharius declared his eldest son Lewis, king of Italy; and being informed that Sergius II. who succeeded Gregory IV. had been consecrated without waiting his confirmation, he immediately sent him into that country. To avert the displeasure of the emperor, the pope received Lewis with extraordinary honour, and waited for him upon the steps of St. Peter's church, into which, when Lewis had been introduced to him, and had kissed his foot, they entered and performed their devotions together. It was, however, ordained that, in future, the popes should not be consecrated before they were confirmed by the emperor. Lewis was then crowned, by the pope, king of the Lombards, and the Romans took the oath of allegiance. A few years after this, he divided the Principality of Benevento, betwixt Radelchis and Siconolphus; and also

defeated, in several engagements, the Saracens, who, from Barri, had made an irruption into Apulia, Calabria, and Benevento. Leo now dying was cucceeded by Benedict III. in opposition to whom, as his election had been proceeded in before he was acquainted, Lewis opposed Anastasius; but at last he consented, and Benedict was consecrated in the presence of the imperial ambassador. During this contest, Lotharius died in Germany, having, some time before assumed the habit of a monk, in the monastery of Prum, and assigned to Lewis the kingdom of Italy only, and the title of emperor; all on this side the Alps being divided betwixt Lotharius and Charles. A. D. 855.

Soon after this, Benedict dying, Nicholas was unanimously elected, and consecrated in the emperor's presence. Nicholas, a few days after, visited the emperor in his camp, when Lewis, advancing to meet him, respectfully alighted, took the bridle of the pope's horse in his hand, and led him for about fifty yards, which ceremony, whether the effect of weakness or of complaisance, was made a precedent by following popes. Lewis now engaged in a war with the Saracens, and besieged Barri, which, after several campaigns of various success, he took and destroyed. In the mean time, pope Nicholas dying, Adrian II. was chosen in his stead; when the emperor's ambassadors complaining that they were not invited to the election, were informed that that was not from any disrespect to them; but, in future, to prevent the ambassadors of any prince from pretending to interfere with the election of a pope: thus the popes threw off their allegiance to the emperor. The

dominions of his brother Lotharius had, by his death, now fallen to Lewis, but were usurped by his uncle Charles the Bald, king of France, who was therefore threatened with excommunication; and Lewis being crowned king of Lorraine by the pope, Charles at last consented to a division of the kingdom he had newly acquired. Lewis could not now make good his right by arms, for the emperor of the east had induced Adalgise, prince of Benevento, to league with the Saracens against him, and thither he marched with his army; when Adalgise, having made professions of fidelity, he turned his troops against the Saracens, and took many of their cities; but Capua made a vigorous resistance, and, in order to appease the emperor, who had refused all terms of capitulation, the bishop of the town walked out to him with the body of St. Germain upon his shoulders, and obtained pardon for his citizens, in consideration of that relique, which was afterwards carried to France. Lewis having now disbanded his army, was treacherously imprisoned by Adalgise, who made him swear never again to enter Benevento; but next year he was absolved from his oath by pope John VIII.; and after driving the Saracens from Italy, he marched against Adelgise, who immediately fled. As the health of Lewis declined, his uncles, the kings of Germany and France, began to intrigue about the succession; but in the following year, Lewis died in France, beloved and regretted by his people, and was buried in the church of St. Ambrose, at Milan.

A. D. 875.

Charles the Bald, being secretly invited by the pope, now marched into Italy, but his progress

was disputed by Charles the Gross, and Carloman, the sons of Lewis, king of Germany: at first, he endeavoured to bribe them, but afterwards agreed to divide with them the emperor's dominions; when, finding his rivals gone, he marched forward to Rome, and after some opposition from the Italian nobles, was crowned emperor by the pope, who then made him acknowledge the independence of Rome, and confess he held the empire from him. Charles was also crowned king of Lombardy by the archbishop of Milan. Thus, he who was threatened with an excommunication by pope Adrian, was, by pope John, confirmed in the usurpation which was its object. Thus, also, the emperors, from being the sovereigns, became the vassals of the popes. In the mean time, Lewis, king of Germany, enraged at such treachery, made warlike preparations against Charles, who creating his brother-in-law Boson a duke and governor of Italy, in his absence, and appointing Vido duke of Spoleto, and Berengarius duke of Friuli, marched back into France. At this time, the nobles of Italy conspired against the pope, for having himself refused to retain the imperial dignity; and, though he checked this conspiracy, he was forced to beg, from the emperor, assistance against the Saracens. Charles, however, was unsuccessfully endeavouring to seize Lorraine, on the death of his brother Lewis, king of Germany; and the Saracens were permitted to threaten the city of Rome. At last, Lewis yielded to the solicitations of the pope; but being informed that Carloman, king of Bavaria, and brother of Lewis, now king of Germany, had passed the Alps with a formidable army, to make

good his late father's right; and being, by the treachery of his generals, disappointed in the arrival of his army, he returned toward France. On his way, having an attack of a fe-
A. D. 877. ver, and receiving from a Jew physician poison instead of medicine, he died eleven days after, at Brios, on mount Cenis, in the second year of his reign; having appointed his son his successor.

The progress of Carloman is uncertain; but while the Capuans were contending about the choice of a bishop, the Saracens burst into their provinces, and destroyed every thing before them, making even the pope consent to pay an annual tribute of twenty-five thousand marks of silver. In the mean time Lambert, duke of Spoleto, instigated by the Italian nobles, claimed the empire and marched to Rome, where he imprisoned the pope, for refusing to crown him, but at last set him at liberty, when he retired into France, and at Troyes crowned Lewis the Stammerer, king. Italy, being without a king, the nobles and states claimed independence; but the pope, after a short absence, returned to Rome, attended by an armed force, and Boson, son-in-law to the emperor Lewis II. whom, on making peace with Lambert, he dismissed. A few months after this, Lewis king of France died, leaving two sons, Lewis and Carloman, both under age, when the bishops assembled at Rome to elect a king, but came not to any conclusion. In the mean time Carloman, king of Bavaria, being seized with the palsy, Lewis king of Germany, his brother, took possession of his kingdom, in spite of some opposition from Charles, king of Almain, who was also his bro-

ther. The pope favoured Boson, but he was engaged in defending his new kingdom of Provence against Charles of Almaine, and the kings of France. Carloman died in the beginning of the following year, and Lewis was prevented from seizing the imperial dignity, by fear lest Arnolf, Carloman's natural son, should in his absence, seize upon Bavaria. Charles, of Almaine, therefore, marched into Italy, and, after ceding to his brother Lewis, king of Germany, Bavaria and Sclavonia, and retaining to himself Almaine and Italy, he was crowned king, by the archbishop of Milan, and afterwards obtained the imperial crown from the pope. Soon after this, the pope solicited his assistance against the Saracens, but Charles continued his journey to Lombardy, and the Roman territory was endangered by them, and ravaged by Vido duke of Spolito, who, for what reason is unknown, at Narni caused the hands of eighty-three men to be cut off. In the following December, pope John died at Rome. A. D. 882.

By the death of his brother Lewis, Charles soon after succeeded to the crown of Germany; but he was unable to defend it, and that country was ravaged by the Normans; he marched against them with his army, but concluded a dishonourable peace, consenting to pay them four thousand one hundred and sixty marks of silver. Upon the death of pope John, the Italian nobles elected a successor attached to their interest, Marinus Galesianus, commonly known by the name of Martin II. and Italy was now disturbed by their ambition, each of them claiming the sovereignty of his own territories: the emperor therefore visited Italy, but without effecting any

thing, returned to Germany. Soon after his departure, pope Martin died, and was succeeded by Agapetus, chosen by the faction of the nobles, under the name of Adrian III. Charles not long after, by the death of Carloman, king of France, who had succeeded his brother Lewis, obtained possession of that kingdom also, and so united under him all the dominions of Charlemagne; but he possessed not the talents to maintain them. The Saracens ravaged Campania, and burned the monastery of St. Benedict; his authority declined in Italy, where the nobles obtained from the pope the two following decrees; "That the popes might, in future, be consecrated without waiting for the presence of the king, or his ambassadors; and that if he died without sons, the kingdom of Italy, and the title of emperor, should be conferred on one of the Italian nobles:" and of these decrees, Charles was not able to obtain a revocation. At this time Aio, prince of Benevento, renounced his allegiance to the Greek emperor. Charles having now concluded an ignominious treaty with the Normans, lost the esteem of his subjects, was deposed, and Arnolf, the son of Carloman, chosen king of Germany in his stead. In consequence of this reverse,

A. D. 888. Charles died on the 14th of January; and thus ended the race of Carlovingian kings, who had been sovereigns of Italy for more than a hundred years.

CHAP. II.

The Successors of the Carlovingian Kings, till the Reign of Henry IV.

EUDES was now chosen king of the French, and Lewis reigned in Provence. Rodolphus seized upon Burgundy Transjurane, and Berengarius, great-grand-son of Charlemagne, succeeded to the crown of Italy. A. D. 889.

Countenanced by the pope, Vido duke of Spoleto soon after pretended to the kingdom of Italy; and having twice defeated Berengarius, was crowned emperor at Rome. Arnolphus, king of Germany, accompanied by Berengarius, therefore marched into Italy; and taking Bergamo, which had shut its gates against him, as a terror to other cities, he caused Ambrose, the governor, to be hanged before its walls. Thus intimidated, Milan, Pavia, and Placenza submitted. Berengarius was left at Milan, and Arnolphus repassed the Alps. Vido soon after died, and Lambert, his son, being crowned by Formosus, forced Berengarius to leave Pavia. But Lambert having joined the faction of Sergius, in opposition to Formosus, that pope offered the empire to Arnolphus, king of Germany, who being opposed by the Romans, besieged and took their city. Soon after the commencement of the siege, an accident put the Germans in possession of Rome; for as they marched to the attack, a hare starting, ran towards the city, and the whole army raising a

shout, followed it. The Romans, seized with terror, abandoned the walls; which being perceived by the Germans, they broke open the gates, and made themselves masters of the city.

A. D. 896. Arnolphus, having expelled Sergius, putting to death all those of his faction, both women, children, priests, and nuns, was now crowned emperor by Formosus.

He soon after marched to Camers against the wife of Vido. This woman prevailed with an officer to give to the emperor a potion, which, she assured him, could tend only to mollify his resentment. The officer administered it, and the emperor sunk into a lethargick sleep, which continued for several days. When awaked, he seemed to have lost his understanding, as well as the power of speech; so that his friends, finding it necessary to raise the siege, continued their march into Lombardy. Arriving at the mountain Bardo, the emperor began to recover, and formed the design of seizing the kingdom of Italy, and putting out the eyes of Berengarius, who immediately fled to Verona. Soon after this, Formosus died at Rome; and his body, by Stephen, one of his successors, of an opposite faction, was ordered to be dug out of the grave, stripped of the pontifical habit, and thrown into the Tiber. He was succeeded by Boniface VI. Stephen VII. Romanus, Theodore II. and John IX. On the death of Arnolphus and of Lambert, a faction favoured the interest of Lewis, king of Arles, who at last received the imperial

A. D. 902. crown from Benedict IV. but was, in a short while surprised by Berengarius at Verona, when his eyes were put out.

Berengarius then took possession of his kingdom, which he governed for twenty years. But he had scarcely ascended the throne when the Huns invaded Italy. Terrified however at his preparations, they begged an unmolested retreat; it was refused, they were driven to despair, they conquered, and Berengarius was forced to purchase their departure by a large sum of money. At this time died pope Benedict; he was succeeded by Leo V. a man of abandoned character, chosen by the influence of Theodora, wife of the count of Tuscany, who had prostituted herself and two daughters to several of the popes. Leo was soon after deposed by Christopher, and he again by Sergius. Sergius dying, was succeeded by Anastasius, who, at the solicitation of Berengarius, conferred on the bishop of Pavia the privilege of using an umbrella, of riding on a white horse, of having the cross carried before him, and of sitting on the left hand of the pope at a council. Anastasius was succeeded by Lando, and he by John X. chosen also by the influence of Theodora, who had formerly had an intrigue with him, and now wished to have him near her. He entirely extirpated the Saracens, and crowned Berengarius emperor of the Romans. Some years afterwards, the Italian nobles conspired against Berengarius, and placed upon the throne of Italy Rodolphus king of Burgundy. He soon after, near Placenza, defeated Berengarius, who, in the following year, was A. D. 924. assassinated at Verona, by a wretch whose best friend he had ever been, and to whom, though accused to him, he had the day before presented a golden cup, and promised his highest

A. D. 926. favour. Next year, a faction conspired against Rodolphus also, and not long after, the archbishop of Milan crowned Hugh, count of Arles, king of Italy, at Pavia.

Hugh concluded an alliance with the king of Germany, and procured the friendship of Romanus the Greek emperor by many valuable presents, some of which were nearly fatal to that emperor; for two large mastiffs, struck with the imperial ornaments, and mistaking Romanus for a wild beast, attacked him with fury, and were with difficulty prevented from tearing him to pieces. By the punishment of certain conspirators, whom, in the first instance, he had generously forgiven, but on a second attempt, had executed, Hugh made himself feared all over Italy. In the mean time, Marozia, the daughter of Theodora, excited against the pope her husband Vido, who seized upon his person, imprisoned him, and caused him to be suffocated. Vido died soon after, and Marozia, who was then in possession of the castle of St. Angelo, being resolved on having another husband, offered the government of Rome to Hugh, on condition of his marrying her. The marriage was celebrated, and Hugh got possession of the city; but Alberick, the son of Marozia, having presented water for washing his hands, in an aukward manner, Hugh struck him on the face, was immediately expelled, and Alberick declared consul and patrician. Pope Leo now dying, was succeeded by Stephen VII. and he by John XI. a son of Marozia, whom she bore in adultery to pope Sergius. In the mean time, Hugh put out the eyes of his half-brother Lambert, marquis of Tuscany, and

conferred his marquisate upon Boson, his brother. The Italians now offered their crown first to Rodolphus, and next to Arnold, duke of Bavaria; but Hugh having treated with the former, and defeated the latter, causing the bishop Ratherius, who had aided them, to write a treatise upon his own disgrace, marched against Rome, concluded a peace with the Romans, and married his daughther to Alberick, and his son Lotharius to Adelaide, the daughter of Rodolphus; him he associated in the government, and caused to be crowned by the archbishop of Milan. Some years after this, Leo VIII. dying, was succeeded by Stephen IX. who being a foreigner, was maimed in a miserable manner by Alberick, and in a short while, died of grief. The brothers, Berengarius and Anascarius, sons of the late king, now conspired against Hugh, who had conferred many favours on them; but the conspiracy was discovered, Anascarius was put to death, and Berengarius fled. Hugh then attacked the Saracens, and concluded a peace with them, but they still continued to rob and murder the pilgrims in their journey to Rome over the Alps. Romanus, emperor of Constantinople, also contracted an alliance with Hugh by marrying his natural daughter. In the mean time, however, Berengarius sent into Italy his friend Amadeus, disguised in the habit of a pilgrim, who held conferences with the disaffected nobles of Italy, and by frequently changing his habit, escaped through bye-paths over the Alps; when he informed Berengarius that the nobles were ready to take arms in his favour. Berengarius, therefore, marched into Italy, was joined

by the nobles, and arriving at Milan, assumed the government. An accommodation, however, was concluded; the title of king continued with
A. D. 948. Hugh, but Berengarius retained the power. He even acted with absolute authority; wherefore Hugh retired into Burgundy, built a magnificent monastery, endowed it with all his wealth, and, becoming a monk himself, died soon after.

Berengarius now took possession of Pavia, and imprisoned the widow of Lotharius. Escaping across the lake, she concealed herself in a forest, till, forced to remove from want of food, she went to Comosa, where Berengarius besieged her. From this place she begged the assistance of Otho, king of Germany. Arriving at Verona, Otho sent forward an officer to inform her of his approach; but access to the castle being cut off by the enemy's guards, the officer tied a letter, together with a ring from Otho, to an arrow, and shot it into the place. The besieged having read the letter, gave evident demonstrations of joy, and Berengarius, concluding that the army of Otho was at hand, immediately raised the siege. The marriage of Otho with Adelaide was soon celebrated, and his son Conrad, duke of Lorrain, was left to carry on the war. But Berengarius, having followed Otho into Germany, trusting to his generosity, was restored to his kingdom, which however, he continued to oppress. Pope Agapetus now dying, was succeeded by John XII. Berengarius having been defeated by Ludolphus, the son of Otho, contrived to poison him, and still continued to oppress his subjects. The Italians therefore solicited the assistance of Otho,

who marched into Italy, and was crowned king, at *Milan*. Arriving at Rome, he was there crowned emperor by the pope; and, A. D. from this period the kingdom of Italy 962. continued, for upwards of three hundred years, to be a part of the German empire.

In the mean time, the pope concluded a treaty with Adelbert to expel the Germans, and solicited the Hungarians to invade the dominions of Otho. Otho therefore marched to Rome, and assembled a council of bishops, who accused *John of filling* the palace with lewd women, and having an intrigue with Stephania, his father's concubine; of ordaining a bishop in a stable; of making a child bishop of Tudor; of castrating a cardinal, and afterwards putting him to death; of saying mass without communicating; of drinking the devil's health; and neglecting to use the sign of the cross. John was therefore deposed, and Leo VIII. chosen, who granted a bull, ordaining that the German emperors should have a right of appointing popes, and of investing bishops. The Romans soon after revolted, but were defeated A. D. by Otho; and *Berengarius* was sent 964. prisoner into Germany, where he died two years afterwards.

John XII. by the intrigues of his mistresses, now found means to enter Rome, where he deposed Leo, but, being soon after surprised in bed with a Roman lady, he received a blow upon the head, of which he died, and Benedict was elected in his stead. Otho therefore marched to Rome, and having caused Benedict, in a general council, to strip himself of his pontifical robes, he restored Leo, and returned into Ger-

many. The Italians now revolted in favour of Adelbert, but were quickly suppressed. Leo dying, was, with the emperor's approbation, succeeded by John XIII. But he was soon after expelled, because he would not aid a rebellion against the emperor's authority. Otho therefore marched to Rome, and caused the body of Rofred the prefect, a leader of the rebels, who had already been assassinated, to be dug out of the grave, and divided into pieces, which were dispersed over the country. The prefect who had succeeded Rofred was dressed in an ignominious habit, set upon an ass with his face towards the tail, so led through the streets, scourged by the hangman, and afterwards imprisoned. He now caused his son Otho, though only thirteen years of age, to be crowned emperor at Rome by the pope.

A. D. 968.

Otho then sent an ambassador to the emperor Nicephorus, demanding Theophania for his son: but he, being offended that Otho had received the homage of the Beneventans, treated his ambassador with indignity. He pretended, however, that he had agreed to the marriage, and desired Otho to receive Theophania in Calabria. Otho therefore made preparations for the nuptials, and sent a body of nobility to receive the princess: but instead of meeting Theophania, they were attacked by Greek soldiers, and all either killed or carried prisoners to Constantinople. Enraged at this perfidy, Otho sent an army into Calabria against the Greeks; they were defeated; Nicephorus was slain, and John Zimisces declared emperor. He sent Theophania into Italy, and she was married to

Otho. The emperor now returned to Germany, where, in two years, he died of an apoplexy, at Meinleben, on the seventh of May. A. D. 973.

Upon the death of Otho, Cincius, the leader of a faction, put to death the pope because he was attached to the emperor's interest. He was succeeded by Boniface VII. who, as well as Cincius, was forced by another faction to leave the city, taking with him the wealth of the Vatican. He was succeeded by Benedict VII. approved of by the emperor. Several of the cities of Italy, however, threw off their allegiance to the emperor, and the country was invaded by the Greeks and the Saracens. But Otho II. soon entered Italy with an army, and punished the authors of the tumults; and in order to effect this, he adopted a cruel and injudicious method. He invited the nobles of Rome to a grand entertainment in the Vatican palace, and when the guests had placed themselves at the table, he forbade them under pain of death to speak or move at what they should hear or see. Instantly they were surrounded by armed men, and while they sat trembling, the emperor serenely ordered the names of those concerned in the late disturbances to be read over, and the guilty to be put to death in the midst of the hall; after which execution, he behaved with cheerfulness and with complaisance to the other guests during the entertainment. His cruelty made a deep impression on the minds of the Italians. He then recovered Apulia from the Greeks and Saracens, but they afterwards gained a complete victory over him. Remembering his former cruelty, the Italians, during the engagement, left the field, those con-

sequently who remained were almost entirely cut off, and Otho with difficulty escaped. Destitute of a retreat, he threw aside the imperial habit, and entreated to be received on board a Greek vessel then on the coast. After he was on board, thinking himself discovered, he endeavoured to swim to land; but being retaken, he prevailed with the captain to set him at liberty, by promising a large ransom, and, while Theophania was preparing to pay it, he escaped. Otho now assembled a new army, and marching to Verona, caused his son, then a child, to be declared emperor. From Verona he retired to Rome, where he died on the seventh of December.

A. D. 983.

Boniface now returned to Rome, where gaining a party, he seized the pope, and imprisoning him in the castle of St. Angelo, starved him to death. But Boniface survived not the second murder long, and was succeeded by John XV. who was soon after expelled from the secular government by Crescentius, a Roman citizen who had assumed the title of consul. He persuaded the Romans to revolt, but Otho III. quickly marched into Italy, reduced Milan, and was crowned king of Lombardy. In the mean time, John XV. dying, Gregory V. was elected. Otho now marched to Rome, and was there crowned emperor.

A. D. 996.

The Germans had scarcely repassed the Alps, when, excited by Crescentius, the Romans revolted, and expelled the pope; but Otho returning to Italy, and having reduced Rome, put Crescentius to death and restored Gregory. He soon after returned to Germany, but was again forced to enter Italy with an army against the

Saracens whom he defeated. He then marched to Rome, and having put to death two of the most guilty in the tumults, he passed several decrees which irritated the Romans to revolt. They attacked his palace; he with difficulty escaped and assembled an army to punish them. The widow of Crescentius, however, who had lived with him as his concubine, and hoped to be declared empress, finding she had lost his favour, sent him a pair of poisoned gloves, which affected him with such a languor that he died soon after at Paterno. The Germans endeavoured to conceal his death, and marched through Lombardy with the corpse dressed in regal ornaments. Ardoin marquis of Torea, was now declared king of Italy, but the archbishop of Milan, with the bishops, acknowledged the emperor Henry, who passing the Alps, defeated Ardoin, and was crowned at Pavia. In the mean time, pope Gregory dying, was succeeded by Sylvester II. he by Stico, and he again by John XIX. A. D. 1002.

Already the inhabitants of Pavia conspired against the emperor, but he pardoned the conspirators, and returned into Germany. Several years after this, John XIX. dying, was succeeded by Sergius IV. and by Gregory V. or Benedict VIII. who was consecrated, but soon after expelled. Henry now entered Italy with an army against Ardoin, and was crowned emperor at Rome by the pope. Upon his return, Ardoin surprised Vercelli, and took several other cities; but was at last opposed by an army raised by the archbishops of Milan and Ravenna, when, finding resistance vain, he retired into the monastery of Frutari. At this time the Saracens unsuccess-

fully invaded Italy; and, as unsuccessfully, the Normans assisted the Apulians against the Greeks. Italy was also disturbed by civil dissention among the nobles; Henry, therefore, marched into it with his army, and, taking prisoner the prince of Capua, who had already usurped a part of the state of Benevento, he banished him to Germany, and reduced Capua, Troja, and the greatest part of the cities in Apulia and Calabria. Returning to Germany, he died the following year, and was buried at Bamberg. About the same time, died pope Benedict, who was succeeded by his brother John XX. Conrad, the successor of Henry, was now declared king of Italy, by the archbishop of Milan: he however so severely oppressed the nobles of Lodi, that they offered their crown to the king of France and to the duke of Guienne. But Conrad entered Italy with an army, and reducing the cities that opposed him, was crowned king of Italy, at Monza, with the iron crown. Having forced Pavia to surrender, he advanced to Rome, and was crowned emperor by the pope. On this occasion, the people came out to meet him with palms in their hands, and he was supported to the church of St. Peter, by Rodolphus king of Burgundy, and Canute king of England and Denmark.

A. D. 1025.

A few days after this, an insurrection took place at Rome, but it was immediately quelled. In a few years, the Italians also revolted; Conrad therefore marched into Italy, and sent many of the discontented prisoners into Germany. He also razed their castles, and besieged Milan, but without success, when he set fire to the suburbs and retired. A sedition now happened at

Parma, and Conrad ordered its walls to be pulled down. He next marched against the prince of Capua, who had oppressed the monks of Monte Cassino; Pandulphus fled; Conrad was crowned king of Capua, and conferred the principality on Guiamar. He then marched for Germany with his army, which was attacked by a contagious disease, of which Gonild, the daughter of Canute king of England, who had married the emperor Henry's eldest son, Conrad, died the following year. Milan A. D. was now harassed by two opposite factions. Rome also was similarly divided; 1039. the people, in opposition to the counts of Tuscany, expelled pope Benedict, and chose Sylvester III. Benedict, however, was restored, and Sylvester resigned the pontificate to John archpresbyter of Rome; but, again resuming that dignity, which was at the same time claimed by the other two, three popes at once had their residence at Rome, all of them living the most scandalous lives. They were, however, persuaded to renounce the pontificate, in consideration of a yearly revenue, and Gratian, a pious and learned priest, who had effected this change, was chosen, under the name of Gregory VI. Henry now marched into Italy with an army, and was crowned with the iron crown, by the archbishop of Milan, and afterwards by pope Clement II. the successor of Gregory, who had been deposed for simony. Clement was consecrated on the day of the emperor's coronation, after which the emperor, the empress, and the pope, walked to the Lateran palace with their crowns and robes. Clement dying, the papal see was again invaded by Benedict, who retain-

ed it till the arrival of Damasus II. sent by the emperor. Damasus dying, was succeeded by Leo IX. The Normans now invaded the territories of the church, and Leo went into Germany to solicit aid from the emperor. Returning to Italy with an army, he engaged the Normans, but was totally defeated and taken prisoner. Being set at liberty, he returned to Rome, where he soon after died, and Victor II. was elected, after an intrusion of Benedict IX. supported by the Tuscan faction. The emperor again entered Italy with an army, and having received the submission of Godfrey, duke of Lor-
A. D. 1050. raine, who had been accused of aspiring to the sovereignty of Italy, he returned to Germany and died the following year, at Butfield, near Paderborn, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, having caused his son Henry when a boy of three years of age, to be declared king of the Romans.

CHAP. III.

The Reign of Henry IV.; with an Account of the First Crusade.

HENRY IV. was now acknowledged emperor; and Victor II. dying, Frederick, a brother of the marquis of Tuscany, was chosen pope by the name of Stephen IX. who immediately sent a legate to the empress Agnes, to consult with her about the reformation of the priesthood, who were universally accused of simony. Influenced by this circumstance, the archbishop of Milan permitte d the clergy to marry. Ste-

phen now formed a design of conferring the imperial crown on his brother, and, in order to assist him in the raising of troops, he desired the abbot of Monte Cassino to bring all the gold and silver in his monastery as privately as possible to Rome. The abbot obeyed, but expressing reluctance at parting with the immense wealth, the pope was so moved that he ordered it to be carried back. Going afterwards to Florence, to confer with his brother, and to declare him emperor, he died in that city. Upon his death, Benedict X. was elected; though Peter Damian declares, that if either he, or the priest who consecrated him, could read one page, he would reckon Benedict not only a pope, but an apostle. But Benedict being deposed, the cardinals and bishops elected Nicholas II. who concluded a treaty with the Normans, and disposed of the principality of Capua, and the dukedoms of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. Peter Damian was sent to Milan, as pope's legate, in order to inquire into the conduct of the priests, and he found that there was scarcely one of them but had purchased his preferment and lived with a concubine. The archbishop swore to reform the abuses, but on the return of Peter he again permitted the priests to keep concubines. Rome was now thrown into confusion by the death of Nicholas. Alexander II. was elected by the bishops in opposition to Honorius II. appointed by the emperor, who sent him to Rome at the head of an army. He was defeated by Godfrey of Tuscany, and entering Rome, was besieged in the castle of St. Angelo. A. D. 1063. In the mean time, the emperor was taken from his mother, and, together

with the administration of affairs, intrusted to the archbishops of Cologne and Bremen.

Anno, archbishop of Cologne, went into Italy, and informing the pope that, by his election, he had infringed the rights of the emperor, desired him to show the justice of his cause before a general council; when Alexander clearing himself, by an oath of the crime of simony, of which he was accused, Honorius was deposed, and the right of Alexander acknowledged. Milan was now dreadfully harassed by contests, which originated from the priests keeping concubines. About this time also the pope, displeased that the em-

A. D. 1073. peror had opposed his decrees, cited him to appear before his tribunal, to justify himself of the crime of simony, and of giving the investiture of churches.

Alexander dying soon after, was succeeded by Gregory VII. who avoided irritating the emperor, but received the allegiance of the princes of Benevento and Capua, and threatened to excommunicate the king of France, if he did not desist from selling benefices. He also sent his legates into Germany, to judge and condemn all the priests who should be found guilty of simony, but the emperor refused to permit them to call a council. Gregory also published a decree ordering all married priests to dismiss their wives. He then proposed a crusade against the Saracens, but, after having levied thirty thousand men, the expedition was relinquished; by their means, however, the Normans were obliged to quit Campania. About this time, Gregory offered Sumo, king of Denmark, a province in Italy, if he would assist the holy see against its enemies; and soon after claimed Russia and

Hungary as fiefs of the catholick church. A conspiracy was now formed against Gregory. As on Christmas-eve he was celebrating mass in the church of St. Mary Major, Cincius, whom he had excommunicated for profligacy, seized him, stripped him of his pontifical robes, dragged him from the church, and shut him up in a strong tower. The people, however, assembled to rescue him, therefore Cincius threw himself at his feet, and, having obtained his promise of pardon, released him the following day, upon which he returned to the church, and finished the service, though wounded in the forehead by a sword. The pope even protected Cincius from the fury of the populace; but, on the following Easter, he and his accomplices were banished from the city for ever. Gregory now sent legates into Germany, citing the emperor to appear before the council of Rome, to answer to the crimes of which he was accused, and threatened him with instant excommunication if he neglected to appear. The emperor dismissed the legates with contempt, and having assembled a council at Worms, he accused the pope of simony, murder, atheism, &c. and caused him to be deposed. A. D. 1076.

Unconcerned at the sentence of deposition, which was read to him in the midst of the Roman council, Gregory proceeded to excommunicate and depose the emperor. The same assembly excommunicated many bishops of Germany, France, and Lombardy, who, in return, repeated the sentence of deposition against Gregory. The bishops of Germany, however, acknowledged their error, and the emperor was deserted both by them and the nobles, who sub-

mitted his cause to the determination of the pope. Gregory now conferred the title of king on the duke of Dalmatia; and that of son of the church, on Roger, count of Sicily. At this time, he received an embassy from Anzir, king of Mauritania, who sent all the Christian captives in his dominions to the pope. The emperor soon arriving in Italy, was joined by the bishops and nobles of Lombardy; and the pope retired to Canoza, with the pious Mathilda, who was accused of a criminal intercourse with him. The excommunicated bishops from Germany now passed the Alps, barefooted, to Canoza, begging absolution from his holiness; and Henry having obtained a conference with Mathilda, was, by her influence, admitted to his presence, after having stood barefooted, in an outer court, for three whole days, during a very rigorous season. On the hardest terms, Henry was absolved. The pope at this time received from Mathilda a grant of all her possessions for the use of the church. But the Italians were offended at the emperor's submission to a person who had been justly accused of simony, murder, adultery, and other crimes; they resolved to depose him, and, after choosing another pope, to crown his son Conrad. Henry therefore broke his treaty with the pope, and reconciled the Italians. In the mean time, the nobles of Germany deposed him from the empire, and chose Rodolphus, duke of Suabia, whom they crowned at Mentz, on the 20th of March.

A. D. 1077.

Henry now marched into Germany, to oppose Rodolphus by arms: but, after some hostilities, they agreed to a suspension of arms; and Gregory, at a loss which party to encourage,

ordered his legates to confirm, in the imperial dignity, that king who should be most obedient to the holy see. He accordingly received ambassadors from each of them, who swore, in the name of their masters, to submit to his determination. Gregory was also most assiduously employed in bringing under his subjection the different sovereigns of Europe; and being informed that Rodolphus had gained a victory over Henry, he again excommunicated him, deposed him, condemned him never more to be successful in war, and gave the kingdom of Germany to Rodolphus. He also presented him with a crown of gold, on which the following arrogant verse was engraved:

"*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.*"

Exasperated at this, Henry again caused him to be deposed, and Clement III. to be elected in his stead. Gregory in the mean time conciliated the friendship of the Normans; wrote to all the faithful in Germany, exhorting them to assist Rodolphus, declaring, in a prophetick style, that a false king would soon be cut off; and begged assistance from William of England. But Henry, having assembled an army, A. D. marched against that of Rodolphus, who 1080. was defeated and slain.

About this time, Gregory reproved the patriarch of Armenia, for using butter instead of balsam in the sacrament of unction. In the beginning of the following year, he again excommunicated the emperor Henry, with all his adherents; but Henry marched with another army into Italy, and defeating the troops of Mathilda, laid siege to the city of Rome, which being strongly garrisoned by the soldiers of Ma-

thilda, he was obliged to abandon. In the following year, Henry again invested Rome, and, by assault, made himself master of the Leonine city and the capitol. The pope was yet reluctant to accede to any reasonable terms, and Henry having got possession of the Lateran palace, caused Clement to be consecrated by the bishops of Modena and Rimini, and the Sunday after, he was crowned by him in the Lateran church. He now got possession of St. Peter's church, and fortified himself in the Aventin mount. The pope, reduced to the utmost difficulty, solicited the assistance of the Normans, and, in the absence of Henry, who had gone in quest of him, Robert, their duke, entered the city. After several skirmishes, he got possession of the capitol, whence he marched to the castle of St. Angelo, and destroying the works raised by Henry, brought the pope safe to the Lateran palace. Gregory having again excommunicated Henry and the anti-pope, with all their adherents, retired to Salerno; when the Romans immediately recalled the emperor, who, having received their oaths of fidelity, left Clement in Rome, and returned himself into Germany. Gregory now wrote to William, king of England, to be reconciled to his brother Oddo, bishop of Bayenne, whom that prince had thrown into prison; but he was unsuccessful. In the mean time, the German garrison, which had been left in Rome, being almost entirely cut off by a malignant distemper, the Romans expelled

A. D. 1085. Clement, rejecting both him and Gregory. Some time after this, Gregory died at Salerno, having, three days before his death, named a successor.

Accordingly, Desiderius, the named candidate, was requested to accept the pontificate, but he obstinately refusing for two days, was at last taken by force, and carried to the church of St. Lucia, where he was unanimously elected, and acquired the name of Victor III. though he struggled, during the whole ceremony, that he might not be clothed in the pontifical dress. On the eve of the feast of St. Peter, the Romans, in the interest of the anti-pope, recovered a great part of the city, and attempted to get possession of St. Peter's church, but were repulsed by the soldiers of Mathilda. Victor now sent an army into Africa against the Saracens, giving them the standard of St. Peter, and remission of all their sins. The Italians were successful; defeating one hundred thousand of the enemy, they took possession of their principal town, and the victory was told in Italy the day it was obtained in Africa. Soon after this, the pope returned to Cassino, and died, not without suspicion of poison having been infused in the chalice, while he was celebrating mass. His successor was Urban II. who declared, that in every thing he would follow the footsteps of Gregory VII. Urban created the archbishop of Toledo primate of all Spain; and held a general council, at Rome, in which Henry and the anti-pope were excommunicated. Hearing that the emperor was proposing to enter Italy, he prevailed upon Mathilda, then in the forty-second year of her age, to marry Guelph, son of the duke of Bavaria, who had distinguished himself against the party of Henry, and from whom are descended the present dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh. The emperor now

marched into Italy, and pillaged the territories of Mathilda, reduced Mantua, and recalled Clement. Mathilda then sued for peace, but the negociation was broken off by one John, a hermit, who advised her to trust for success to Divine Providence. Henry, therefore, sent one of his sons to besiege Carpineto, but the prince being killed in an attack, the siege was raised. At this time Erid, king of Denmark, came to Rome to be absolved from the excommunication by the pope. Soon after, Conrad, the emperor's eldest son, rebelled against his father, and went over to the party of Mathilda. Urban, thinking the rebellion of a son no crime, absolved him from excommunication, and caused him to be crowned king of Italy. Henry then retired to the Alps.

A. D. 1093.

Urban now held a council at Placenza, in which it being proved that the empress, during her imprisonment, had been ravished by several persons sent in by order of Henry, she was absolved from penance, upon her publick confession. A council was now held at Clermont, in Auvergne, famous for the commencement of the first crusade. Letters having been received by Urban, from the patriarch of Jerusalem, by the hands of Peter the hermit, representing the wretched state of the Christians in Judea, and entreating assistance, he made several pathetick speeches to the council, exhorting them to encourage the people to undertake the holy war, and recover the sepulchre of Christ. Moved by the pope's address, the council decreed, that whoever went to the relief of the church at Jerusalem, should have his sins forgiven. The crusade was now preached with success, and

the most active promoter of this expedition was Peter the hermit, who went through France, preaching to the people with enthusiasm. The number who gave in their names for this holy expedition was so immense, that the priests were obliged to dissuade a great many who, upon account of their age, sex, or weakness, were unfit for the warfare; but there still remained behind an army much more numerous than any that ever had appeared in Europe. Instead of pay, they received a plenary indulgence for every sin; and, in place of an uniform, each wore a cross of red cloth upon his right shoulder, whence the expedition got the name of a crusade. Walter, surnamed Sans Avoir, and Peter the hermit, at the head of fifty thousand men, began the march, and directing their route through Germany, were there joined by Godescald, a monk, with fifteen thousand Germans, armed with clubs. They were followed by Godfrey de Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, accompanied by many other dukes and counts, with great bodies of troops. The archibishop of Milan, with fifty thousand Lombards, next advanced; and Bohemond, brother of Roger duke of Sicily, led on the Apulians and Calabrians. The Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese, equipped their fleets; and each city sent out a body of men, with a commander and a standard, on which was painted a cross, and the device, "Dieu le veut;" "*It is the will of God.*" Onward they marched to the Holy Land; but being without money, and without discipline, under pretence of zeal for the Christian religion, of which they were the soldiers, they made their first attack upon the rich Jews of Germany, and massacred, and seized

the property of those who would not consent to be baptized. They murdered twelve thousand in Bavaria alone, and many thousands in the other provinces of Germany. But, at last, the inhabitants of the countries through which they passed rose; and the irregulars, led on by Peter, were almost entirely cut off. From three hundred thousand, they were reduced to twenty thousand starving wretches, who, at length, reached Constantinople, and were joined by a new supply of German and Italian vagabonds, as well as by the regular army. The Greek emperor got rid of his savage and troublesome guests as speedily as possible; and Peter advanced into the plains of Asia, against the soldan of Nice, but was quickly forced to retreat, with his madmen, to the walls of Constantinople. And now the regular army advanced. It amounted to one hundred thousand horsemen and six hundred thousand foot. They might have conquered Asia, but they were disunited. They took Nice and Antioch, and at last laid siege to Jerusalem. Their number was now wonderfully reduced; they amounted only to twenty thousand foot, and one thousand five hundred horse. The garrison of Jerusalem consisted of forty thousand men. But the zeal and bravery of the soldiers of the cross was irresistible; and Jerusalem was taken by assault. The garrison and the inhabitants were, without distinction, put to the sword.

A. D. 1099.

Prior to this, however, the pope went on a journey to Cremona, and was met by Conrad, who, upon his entering that city, acted as groom, and afterwards took the oath of fidelity to the papal see. Urban soon after recovered the cas-

tle of St. Angelo, and, having quieted the factions in the city, died, and was succeeded by Paschal II. A revolution now took place in Germany; the emperor was dethroned and imprisoned by his youngest son Henry, but soon after escaped to Liege, where he died, and was interred with great pomp by the bishop of that see. For this kindness to the deceased, the bishop was excommunicated, and, as a condition of being absolved, he was ordered to dig up the corpse. A. D. 1105.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Popes, till the Reign of Frederick of Sicily; with an Account of the second and third Crusades.

POPE Paschal now held a council at Guastalla, which prohibited any layman from giving investitures. This decree offended the emperor Henry V. who refused to give up any of his rights. He accordingly sent ambassadors to the pope at Chalons upon the Marne, to show his holiness, that his claim of investitures was an ancient right belonging to the emperors; but the pope rejecting it, the ambassadors departed in an abrupt manner, declaring that at Rome they would determine the controversy by their swords. The emperor, therefore, marched into Italy to determine the dispute, and to receive the imperial crown, which, at Milan, was presented to him, by the archbishop Chrysolaus. Arriving at Sutri, he concluded a treaty with the pope, who prevailed with him to renounce the right of investitures, on condition of receiv-

ing the fiefs of the bishops. Henry then entered Rome, and was conducted to the church of St. Peter, where the bishops refusing to relinquish the fiefs, the pope also refused to crown the emperor; upon which, he was made prisoner, and at last forced to crown him, and ratify his right of investitures. But the cardinals, as well as a council held in the Lateran, annulled the treaty, and excommunicated the emperor; and their sentence was afterwards confirmed by the pope.

A. D. 1116. About this time, the emperor Alexius offered to receive his crown from the hands of the pope; and the countess Mathilda died, in the sixty-ninth year of her age.

In the mean time the emperor again arrived at Rome; but not being able to prevail with any of the Roman clergy to consent to his coronation, he was crowned, by the bishop of Bruges, in the church of St. Peter. Paschal now dying, was succeeded by Gelasius II. His election was disturbed by Lincius Frangipani, a wealthy nobleman of Rome, attached to the emperor, who took Gelasius by the throat, pulled him from his seat, and after kicking him, carried him prisoner to his castle, but soon after delivered him up. Gelasius was then set upon a white horse, and amidst the acclamations of the people, conducted to the Lateran palace. He was forced, however, to leave Rome, and the emperor declaring his election void, appointed Gregory VIII. Finding the party of the anti-pope powerful at Rome, he went into France; and being informed that the emperor represented his retreat as an abdication of the pontificate, he sent the famous Cono, as his legate, into Germany; who held a council at Co-

logne, in which the emperor and the anti-pope were excommunicated. Gelasius died soon after, and was succeeded by Calixtus II. who also excommunicated the emperor. Raising also a considerable army, he marched against Sutri, which quickly capitulated, and delivered up Gregory. He was clothed with raw goat skins, set upon a camel, with his face towards the tail, and being led through the city, was afterwards shut up in the monastery of Cava, for life. In order to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication, the emperor now agreed to renounce his right of investiture. About this time, the king of England complained to the pope of the rapaciousness of his legate, and insisted upon the privilege, granted by St. Gregory to the archbishop of Canterbury, of being perpetual legate of the holy see in England. A. D. 1123.

Soon after this, Calixtus died. His memory was very dear to the Romans, on account of his putting an end to the dispute about investitures, on terms so advantageous to the papal see; and for his causing water to be conducted to the city from the ancient Formill. As his successor, the cardinals next day fixed upon Theobald, a cardinal-priest: but he refusing, Robert Frangipani called out, "Lambert, bishop of Ostia, is pope." He was accordingly acknowledged by the name of Honorius II. Honorius excommunicated Oderisius, the abbot of Monte Cassino, for profusion and disobedience; accusing him of being more like a soldier than an abbot. He likewise appointed William, archbishop of Canterbury, as his legate in England, who held a national council at Winchester. Lotharius had, three

years before, been elected emperor upon the death of Henry V. Conrad, the nephew of the late emperor, pretending to the crown, had also entered Italy; and now Lotharius prevailed with the pope to excommunicate him, and the archbishop of Milan, who had crowned him at Monza.

A. D. 1128

Honorius dying, was succeeded by Innocent II. But an opposite party chose Anaclete, who led his followers to the church of St. Peter, and plundered it of its wealth. The election of Innocent, however, was supported by the emperor, who, soon after arriving at Rome, was crowned by the pope in the Lateran church. The emperor returned, but soon again arrived with an army, and expelled Roger, king of Naples, who supported the party of Anaclete, from Apulia, conferring the investiture of that country on Rainulph. About this time died Anaclete, and another anti-pope was elected, but afterwards reconciled to the pope. Conrad, the late competitor for the empire, was now declared emperor. Innocent dying, was succeeded by Celestine, and he by Lucius II.; but a sedition arising at Rome, Lucius wished to put a stop to the revolt, and laying siege to the capitol, was wounded by a stone from the besieged, and died a few days after. He was succeeded by Eugenius III. who hearing that the Christians in Asia had suffered a great defeat, and lost the city of Edessa, gave liberty to St. Bernard to preach up a crusade, and wrote a long letter, addressed to the king of France and his subjects, exhorting them to the sacred expedition, by offering them a remission of all their sins. St. Bernard met with much success, and was chosen

general of the expedition. The pope, however, would not permit him to undertake that commission, and Bernard soon after, at a council held in France, put the cross upon Lewis the king, who cheerfully undertook the expedition, and was followed by the greatest part of the nobility of his kingdom. The emperor Conrad and the nobles of Germany were also induced by St. Bernard to assume the cross; but one Rodolphus, a monk, having without the pope's authority assembled a body of crusaders, and attacked the rich Jews in Germany, Eugenius wrote to the archbishop of Mentz, condemning his proceedings, and caused him to be shut up in a monastery. They arrived in Syria; but having suffered greatly by the fatigue of their march, and the treachery of the Greek emperor, very few of them remained alive; and not being able to undertake any enterprise, they resolved to return to Europe. Eugenius wrote to the emperor Conrad, and to comfort him for his bad success, gave him the titles of Catholick prince, and Defender of the Roman church. He wrote also to France to encourage another crusade; but the bad success of the former had drawn upon St. Bernard the indignation of the people, who accused him of being a false prophet. A. D. 1149.

In the mean time, Frederick, duke of Suabia, having succeeded to the empire upon the death of his uncle Conrad, concluded a treaty with the pope, agreeing to reduce the Romans to obedience; and Eugenius promised to give to him the imperial crown. But Eugenius dying, was succeeded by Anastasius IV. and he by Hadrian IV. About this time, a cardinal was murdered at

Rome. The emperor now entered Italy with an army, and having reduced the towns of Lombardy, advanced to meet the pope at Sutri; but, having neglected to hold the stirrup when his holiness alighted, the cardinals, imagining that the emperor had some hostile intention, fled back to Citta di Castello; and Hadrian refused to admit him to the kiss of peace. The emperor at last condescended, and was crowned by the pope in the church of St. Peter: but the Romans, enraged that they had not been consulted in the coronation, attacked the church of St. Peter, and killed several bishops. Frederick flew to the pope's assistance, and, after a desperate engagement of four hours, repulsed the Romans, killing one thousand of them, with the loss of only one German. Three years after this, pope Hadrian died, and the cardinals assembled to choose a successor. Having deliberated several days, they elected Alexander III. but two cardinals, John and Guido, declared Octavianus pope, by the name of Victor IV. who observing the other competitor with the papal robe, ran to him and snatched it from his shoulders; a senator, however, taking it from him, he called to his chaplain, who had brought a robe on purpose, and taking that robe, he hastily put it on himself with the fore part of it behind. The doors of the church being then opened, a body of armed men rushed in to his assistance: the other party retired to the castle of St. Angelo, where they were besieged for nine days by the Romans whom Victor had corrupted.

A. D. 1159.

The popes now excommunicated each other. The emperor referred their cause to a general

council, to which Alexander refused to submit. Victor appeared, and after consulting seven days, they declared him pope. He was conducted to St. Salvator's church, where the emperor received him, held the stirrup of his horse while he alighted, led him to the altar, and kissed his feet. Next day the council again assembled, and, with lighted candles, excommunicated Alexander and his adherents. About this time, Alexander also excommunicated the emperor for acknowledging the anti-pope; and, in consideration of the many miracles wrought by Edward, formerly king of England, during his life, and since his death, granted a bull, allowing him to be numbered among the holy confessors, and exhorting the English to be very fervent in worshipping his body. Alexander was acknowledged by the kings of England and France, but forced to quit Italy. At Tours, he held a council, at which Thomas Becket attended. The pope viewed him with singular respect; having ordered all his cardinals, except two, to meet him without the gates, and conduct him into the city. The pope afterwards protected him, as archbishop of Canterbury, against the power of the king of England. Victor dying, his successor, Paschal III. was acknowledged by the emperor, who swore never to acknowledge Alexander, and entering Italy, was crowned at Rome, by the anti-pope. But the heats became so violent as to occasion a mortality amongst the emperor's troops. He therefore retired into Lombardy, with the loss of two thousand men. A. D. 1167.

Soon after this, the pope was informed of the murder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and like-

wise received an embassy from the king of England to justify himself from having had any concern in the murder. Alexander, for some time, would not see the English ambassadors; but, being at last admitted to an audience, they endeavoured to justify the king; and to prevent his kingdom from being laid under an interdict, they swore in his name that he would submit to the sentence of the pope. Appeased by his oath, the pope excommunicated the murderers, and sent two legates to examine the king, and to receive his submission. They enjoined him to send two hundred men, for one year, into the Holy Land, or as much money as would maintain two hundred soldiers at three hundred crowns each; to repeal the statutes of Clarendon, and restore all the possessions of the see of Canterbury; to grant free appeals to the see of Rome; to go himself three years into the Holy Land; and, if the pope required it, to make an expedition into Spain against the Moors. The king, swearing to fulfil these articles, kneeled down and was absolved. Desired by the pope, the legates ordered the church of Canterbury to be sprinkled with holy water, as the sacrament of dedication ought not to be repeated. Meantime, the murderers of Thomas Becket came to Alexander, and in a penitent manner desired absolution; they were ordered as a penance to spend the rest of their days in the Holy Land. The legates returning from England, and reporting the numerous miracles that were performed at the tomb of the archbishop, the pope canonized him, and enrolled him among the martyrs, ordering the twenty-ninth of December, the day of his death, to be celebrated every year

A. D. 1173.

in a solemn manner; and Henry, that he might have the favour of the new saint against his son who had rebelled, and had been excommunicated by the pope, entered the city of Canterbury barefooted; and, covered only with a coarse cloth, went to the tomb of the martyr, where he continued all that day and the following night, when, calling the monks to him, he underwent the discipline of flagellation.

In the mean time, Frederick entered Italy for the fifth time, and ineffectually proposed a peace. He was soon after defeated, and again proposed peace, which was at last acceded to. Entering the city of Venice, he was absolved from the sentence of excommunication, and, after prostrating himself at the feet of the pope, received the kiss of peace. The Romans now submitted. Alexander soon after conferred the title of king on the duke of Portugal, and, excommunicating the king of Scotland, laid his kingdom under an interdict. Alexander was succeeded by Lucius III. who absolved the king of Scotland, and took off the interdict. Having received an embassy from the princes of Palestine, entreating assistance, Lucius sent ambassadors to the kings of England and France, exhorting them to that holy expedition. They prepared for the crusade, but their operations were retarded by the death of Lucius, at Verona, whither he had retreated from a faction of the Romans. A. D. 1185.

Urban III. now succeeded to the papal chair. He quickly engaged in disputes with the emperor; and, at the earnest entreaty of the king of England, granted a bull, allowing him to create one of his sons king of Ireland, and sent him

a crown of peacocks' feathers interwoven with gold. In the mean time, the soldan Saladine defeated the Christians in the Holy Land, and Jerusalem was lost. In consequence of these afflicting tidings, Urban died at Ferrara, and was succeeded by Gregory VIII. who gave indulgences for a new crusade. He also was soon succeeded by Clement III. who induced the emperor to take up the cross. Frederick wrote a letter to the soldan, in a haughty style, and filled with the names of the princes of Europe, whom he pretended to be his vassals, and dignified with warlike epithets. Saladine replied in the same manner; and the emperor prepared for the war. With an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, he departed for the Holy Land. Richard king of England, Philip of France, and William of Sicily and Apulia, soon after followed him. About this time, Clement died at Rome, and was succeeded by Celestine III. The emperor also died in the east, and was succeeded by his son, Henry VI. crowned by Celestine in the church of St. Peter. The circumstances attending this coronation were very singular, for the pope had no sooner put the crown upon the emperor's head, than he kicked it off again to the ground, signifying, that he had a power of depriving him of the empire, as well as of conferring it upon him. Philip, king of France, now arrived at Rome, and accused the king of England of forcing him from the Holy Land; but the accusation was believed to proceed from envy. Richard, in his return from the Holy Land, being made a prisoner in Sicily, and unjustly detained by the emperor, who had already succeeded to the crown of Sicily and Apulia, the bishops of

Normandy wrote to his holiness, loudly complaining of the violence and breach of faith, and entreating him to draw the sword of St. Peter against the emperor, who had affronted the church, in the person of one of its soldiers. Celestine was not prevailed upon to intercede for the king's liberty; but the emperor at last set him free for a ransom. A. D. 1198.

Four years after this, the emperor died in Sicily, and Celestine at Rome. He was succeeded by Innocent III. who confirmed the election of Otho of Brunswick to the imperial crown. Being informed by the bishop of Metz, that in consequence of a translation of the Bible into the French language, the people began to despise the priests, he reproved them severely, and wrote to the bishops in the neighbourhood to inquire who was the author of the translation, and how he stood affected to the apostolick see. He also exerted himself to suppress the Albigenses and the Waldenses. Innocent embraced the party of the emperor Otho, and offered to absolve the nobles from their obligations to Philip duke of Suabia, who pretended to the empire. Meanwhile, he also exerted himself for the relief of the Christians in the Holy Land, and, as an example to others he fitted out a new ship, which he loaded with corn and provisions for their use. He likewise sent a legate into Scotland, with the present of a purple hat for the king, in token of his being a defender of the church, as that religious prince had ordered the sabbath to be strictly observed after mid-day. The legate also presented the king with a sword, the hilt and scabbard of which were adorned with gold and diamonds, and besides honoured

him with many indulgences. During these transactions, Almaricus, of the university of Paris, published several heretical doctrines, asserting there was no heaven or hell, except in the breasts of the virtuous or wicked; that the invocation of saints, and the worshipping of altars or images, was idolatry; that God was the *materia prima*, or primitive matter; that sin committed from benevolence had no guilt; and such like tenets. His works were condemned by the pope; and, as Aristotle's books of natural philosophy and metaphysicks, lately brought from Constantinople, were supposed to have given rise to these opinions; they were ordered to be burned by the council of Paris, and prohibited under the penalty of excommunication.

A. D. 1204.

The French have lately paid more attention to the lectures of Almarick.

The Sicilians and Apulians now took the oath of allegiance to the pope, who also received an embassy from Philip, emperor of Germany. Otho had been defeated, and obliged to fly into England; Philip, therefore, resolving to reconcile the pope to his cause, sent the patriarch of Aquileia, and many other nobles and learned men, to Rome, upon whose representations Innocent consented to absolve Philip, and acknowledge him as emperor, on condition that he gave one of his daughters in marriage to the pope's brother Richard, who was soon after created count of Sura. The emperor was astonished at the interested views of the pope; and, without any regard being paid to the marriage, contrived to obtain publick absolution from his legates. Next year, news arriving at Rome, that the emperor Philip had been murdered at Wamberg,

Innocent wrote to the nobles and bishops of Germany, exhorting them to unite in choosing Otho, who was accordingly elected at Frankfort; and, to strengthen his interest with the party of the late emperor, he married his daughter Beatrice. After his election, Otho received an embassy from the city of Milan, inviting him to accept the crown of Italy. Innocent likewise sent legates, with letters of congratulation, offering to confer upon him the imperial crown. Arriving at Milan, Otho received the iron crown from the hands of the archbishop, and advancing to Rome, was crowned by the pope in the church of St. Peter. A. D. 1209.

CHAP. V.

The Reign of Frederick of Sicily; and that of the Popes continued till the Celebration of the first Jubilee; with an Account of the last Crusade.

OTHO still continued in Italy, but seized upon the territories of the church in Tuscany and Romaniola, and, assisted by the Pisan fleet, invaded the dominions of the king of Sicily. Innocent in vain endeavoured to persuade him to desist, and at last excommunicated and deposed him. The nobles of Germany, therefore, chose Frederick of Suabia, king of Sicily, as emperor, and the pope not only confirmed the election, but sent a cardinal legate into Germany, to desire the nobles and cities of that kingdom to abandon Otho, and submit to

Frederick, who being now master of the greatest part of Germany towards the Rhine, was crowned at Aix la Chapelle by the archbishop of Mentz. At this time, the emperor made a vow of undertaking an expedition to the Holy Land: and Innocent, being soon after informed that the emperor Otho had been entirely defeated by the king of France, Philip Augustus, in the famous battle of Bovinces, gave authority to his legate again to crown Frederick at Aix la Chapelle. Four years after this, the emperor, having entered Italy with an army, attended by his queen Con-
A. D. 1220. stantia, was refused admittance into the city of Milan. Dissembling his resentment, he therefore marched forward to Rome, and was a third time crowned by the pope Honorius III. who had succeeded Innocent. He also received the cross from the hands of cardinal Hugolin, and renewed his vow of performing a crusade.

While Germany was thus embroiled by the two factions of Otho and Frederick, the pope, by his letters, exhorted the Christians of Europe to undertake a crusade against the Moors in Spain; and, in consequence of this exhortation, no less than one hundred and ten thousand foreigners crowded into that kingdom, the greatest part of whom were obliged to return, upon account of the excessive heat of the climate. Those who continued, however, being joined by a great many Spaniards, about the middle of July, gained a victory over the Moors, who are said to have lost one hundred thousand men in the battle. Alphonsus, king of Arragon, immediately informed the pope of this victory, and sent the chief standard of Mahomet to Rome, which was

hung up in St. Peter's church, where the Moorish prince had boasted he would erect it in person. In Asia also, the champions of the cross took Damiata, after a siege of twenty-two months, during which upwards of twenty-five thousand Saracens were slain; but, in order to save themselves from perishing by the overflowing of the Nile, to which the imprudence and obstinacy of cardinal Pelagius had exposed them, they in their turn were forced to deliver it up to the soldans, and to conclude a peace for eight years.

Honorius now wrote to the emperor Frederick, blaming him for delaying his expedition to the Holy Land; and Frederick, in order to appease him, published several severe edicts against the hereticks, which seem to have been adopted by the tribunal of the inquisition. He ordered that those who were convicted of heresy should be deprived of their offices, and punished as traitors; that those who relapsed into the errors which they had abjured, should be punished with death; and that the children of hereticks should, to the second generation, be deprived of all offices and fiefs, unless they became informers against their parents. A conference also took place at Verona, between the emperor and the pope, when Frederick again engaged by oath to go within two years to the relief of the Holy Land; and, in order to interest him the more in that expedition, the pope, as the empress was lately dead, prevailed with him to promise to marry Jolanta, the only daughter and heiress of the king of Jerusalem. Frederick, however, soon after desired the pope to prolong the time for the sacred expedition, first on the pretence that the cities of Lombardy had formed an associa-

tion against him, and next on the supposition that it was unjust to break the eight years truce concluded with the soldan. He was therefore absolved from the oath he had made at Verona, but a conditional sentence of excommunication was denounced against him, if he failed to accomplish it in other two years. The king of Jerusalem was now forced by the emperor to resign his title in his favour; and, at this time also, Frederick requested the pope to mediate between him and the associated cities of Lombardy, which was accordingly effected. Honorius dying, was succeeded by Gregory IX. who, on the expiration of two years, wrote to the emperor, desiring him, under the pain of an anathema, to depart for the Holy Land as soon as possible. Frederick appointed the month of August for the embarkation at Brindisi, where no less than sixty thousand crusaders had arrived from England. But, about this time, a present arrived to him from the soldan, consisting of an elephant, several mules, and many valuable things, which afterwards occasioned a suspicion that he had entered into a treaty with the soldan, and, upon that account, had thwarted the expedition to the Holy Land. Frederick, however, for some time appeared very active; but soon after, pretending to be sick, laid aside all thoughts of the expedition. Gregory now excommunicated him, and he in return expelled Gregory from Rome; but was at last induced to determine on the Syrian voyage, and, assembling a fleet at Brindisi, sailed thence to the Holy Land. In the mean time, Gregory opposed his interest, and excited a civil war throughout the empire.

A. D. 1228.

Frederick, therefore, concluded a peace with the Saracens, and, having crowned himself in Jerusalem, returned to Brindisi.

Soon after this, the emperor was again reconciled to the pope, who entreated him again to succour the Holy Land, which was now his own. But Frederick was soon forced to march into Germany, to punish the rebellion of his son Henry; and Gregory wrote to the princes of Germany dissuading them from the revolt. Frederick quelled the rebellion, and afterwards married Isabella, daughter of the king of England. He was, however, soon after forced also to march against the confederates in Lombardy; and the pope, who feared the growing power of Frederick, every day rendering himself more despotick, attached himself to the interest of the associated cities. He also, in the course of the following year, excommunicated the emperor, who immediately wrote to all the princes of Europe in his own justification, and carried on the war in Italy with the utmost fury, advancing even to Rome. Terrified at the approach of the Imperialists, Gregory, in order to animate the Romans in his defence, made a procession from the Lateran to the Vatican church, with the heads of the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. After a long discourse, taking the two skulls in his arms, he protested with tears, that he could not defend those reliques nor himself without the assistance of the Romans. Observing the people moved by his harangue, he published a crusade, and Frederick found himself opposed by a numerous army. Having taken prisoners some of the crusaders, he put them to death

A. D. 1239. by various tortures, impressing the figure of a cross upon their foreheads, with red-hot iron, and cutting the heads of others into four pieces, in the form of a cross.

During these disturbances in Italy, the exactions of Otho the pope's legate in England, occasioned great murmurs among the people. A Carthusian monk was apprehended at Cambridge, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, for affirming that the devil was let loose in the shape of the legate, and that the pope was a heretick and not the head of the church. Notwithstanding these murmurs in England, Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, assembled a large fleet, and sailed with forty thousand men for the Holy Land.

Soon after this, Frederick seized a great many bishops on their voyage to Rome, and put them in prison. The pope, being deeply affected with their captivity, and hearing that cardinal Colonna had gone over to the party of the emperor, was seized with a distemper which put a period to his existence, when he had lived almost one hundred years. His weak administration and unchristian resentment against the emperor were the occasion of many calamities to Italy. Celestine IV. succeeded him, and proposed peace with the emperor, but dying soon after, the Roman see continued vacant upwards of twenty months. At last, Frederick forced the cardinals to proceed to an election, and Innocent IV. was chosen. Finding Frederick unwilling to submit to his terms, this pope quitted Italy and went to Lyons, where calling a council, he excommunicated and deposed the

emperor. He likewise exhorted the princes of Germany to a new election, and ordered a crusade to be preached against him. Italy now became a scene of desolation and misery, and the emperor entreated the mediation of the king of France to effect a peace with the Roman see. But the mediation of St. Lewis was rejected by Innocent, and the affairs of the emperor were ruined in Lombardy. The garrison of Parma had surprised and stormed his camp, in which was found an imperial crown, with the emperor's most valuable jewels, besides an immense treasure in money. Soon after this, Frederick fell sick at Apulia, and dying on the thirteenth of December, was buried at Montreal, in Sicily, by his natural son Manfred, who was suspected of having hastened his death by violence, and who now pretended to Apulia and Sicily. A. D. 1250.

Upon hearing of the death of Frederick, Innocent excommunicated Conrad, his son, and exerted himself in favour of count William of Holland. He now returned to Italy, and in order effectually to oppose the claim of Conrad and of Manfred to the hereditary dominions of their father, he offered the kingdom of Naples and Sicily to Richard, brother of the king of England, and afterwards to Charles of Anjou. Conrad, however, got possession of Naples, and now proposed a peace with the church; but he was excommunicated by the pope, and died soon after in Apulia, leaving an infant son, whom he desired should be put under the guardianship of the apostolick see. But Manfred, assisted by the Saracens, defeated the army of the pope, who died, in the mean time, at Naples, and was

succeeded by Alexander IV. Manfred still rapidly advanced, and defeated the papal troops. Alexander therefore gave the investiture of Naples to the son of Henry III. king of England, whom he absolved from his vow of a crusade into Syria, on condition of undertaking an expedition against Manfred. The king bound himself, for his son, to pay yearly two thousand ounces of gold to the Roman see, and, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, to conduct an army in person into Sicily. Germany was, at this time, a scene of anarchy and disorder. On the death of the count of Holland, some of the nobles proposed to elect Conradine, the infant grandson of Frederick, while Richard, duke of Cornwall, brother of the king of England, was elected at Frankfort, by the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, and other two electors. But the other party, headed by the archbishop of Triers, at last conferred the imperial dignity upon Alphonso, king of Castile; and the money of Richard failing him, his party deserted, and he returned to England, after having lavished away seventeen hundred thousand pounds sterling.

A. D. 1257.

The king of England was now desired to take possession of Sicily; he accordingly made a demand of money from his parliament; but, both at London and Oxford, met with a refusal. Peace was, therefore, proposed with Manfred, but without effect. In the mean time, Alexander died at Viterbo, and the patriarch of Jerusalem was elected by the name of Urban IV. who conferred the crown of Sicily on Charles, count of Anjou, on condition of his paying eight thousand ounces of gold. Manfred, however,

strengthened himself against the intrigues of the pope, by giving the heiress of his dominions in marriage to Peter, son of the king of Arragon; and, assembling an army of Saracens, marched into the territories of the church. The house of Suabia still supported the claim of Conradine to the empire, and both the competitors were desired to submit to the decision of the pope. Urban now died at Perugiar, and Clement IV. was chosen pope. He favoured the interest of Charles, and crowned him king of Sicily at Rome; immediately after which, Charles marched against Manfred, who was defeated and slain. But Charles behaving with cruelty, the adherents of Manfred invited Conradine into Italy, who, however, was prohibited by the pope, while Charles was also created vicar of the empire. Conradine was soon after defeated and put to death by him, in 1269; and Clement also died at Viterbo.

About this time, St. Lewis sailed for the Holy Land. He embarked at Marseilles, about the middle of June, with cardinal Rodolphus, the apostolical legate, and, after a dangerous voyage, arrived with his fleet at Carthage, of which he quickly made himself master. But marching afterwards against Tunis, while he continued before that city, his army was seized with sickness, which carried off a great many of the nobles and soldiers. And while the king himself was deliberating about re-embarking his troops, he was seized with the distemper, and died on the twenty-fifth of August, his brother the king of Sicily arriving the same day at the camp, together with the fleet of Edward, prince of

A. D. 1270.

England. The disease still continuing in the camp of the crusaders, and raging also in the city and camp of the enemy, a truce of ten years was concluded with the Tunisians, who engaged to pay the expense of the expedition, and a yearly sum to the king of Sicily, equal to the tribute given by him to the holy see; to dismiss all prisoners, and to allow Christianity to be preached freely in their country. These terms being ratified, Edward prince of England proceeded with his fleet to the Holy Land; but, as Philip king of France, with his uncle Charles, and the king of Navarre, sailed for Sicily, in order to return, Edward sent back his cousin Henry, son of Richard duke of Cornwall, to take care of Guienne: in his journey through Italy, however, he was murdered in a church at Viterbo, by a son of the late Simon Montfort.

Theald, at this time in the Holy Land with Edward prince of England, was now chosen pope, by the name of Gregory X. On his arrival, he raised five hundred horse, which he embarked in three Venetian ships for Syria. Soon after Edward, who had now succeeded to the crown of England by the death of his father, landed also at Orvieto, on his return from the Holy Land, and was received with much affection by Gregory, who declared that he had excommunicated the son of Simon, who had murdered his cousin. Gregory about this time confirmed the election of Rodolphus, as emperor of Germany, who promised to undertake an expedition into Syria, against the Saracens. Gregory dying, was succeeded by Innocent V. he by Hadrian V. and he by John XXI. who

disgraced the pontificate by the levity and inconstancy of his behaviour. On the death of John, Nicholas III. was elected pope, and soon after succeeded by Martin V. Under his pontificate, and while the king of Sicily was with him at Orvieto, they were alarmed with the news of the revolt of the Sicilians, who, on Easter Monday, at the ringing of the bells for vespers, had surprised and massacred all the French in their island, not sparing even their own countrywomen, whom they suspected to be with child by Frenchmen. Upon receiving the news of this massacre, the pope made a publick procession through the streets of Orvieto, and excommunicating the Sicilians, laid their island under an interdict. A few months after, Charles died at Foggier, having in vain attempted to recover Sicily, where his son was detained a captive. Martin survived him only a few weeks, and was succeeded by Honorius IV. who invited Rodolphus to receive the imperial crown in Italy; but the emperor, conscious that the powerful cities of Lombardy had, for more than a hundred years, asserted a sort of independency, sold to them their liberty, on condition of their paying certain sums of money. Though Rodolphus, by this accommodation, only extended the privileges which the cities had obtained from Frederick Barbarossa, and did not absolutely separate them from the empire, yet this period is reckoned the commencement of Italian independence and liberty; for the German emperors, after this, had but a mere shadow of authority in Italy. A. D. 1286.

In the following year, Honorius died at Rome, and Nicholas IV. was elected pope. He

received an embassy from the king of the Tartars of Lesser Tartary, expressing his affection for the Christian religion, and desiring to receive baptism in the city of Jerusalem, which he intended to take from the Saracens. Nicholas soon after received from him another embassy, informing him, that the great cham, the emperor of all the Tartars, was desirous of having some Latin priests in his dominions. The pope wrote to them both, and exhorted them not to delay their baptism. On the death of Nicholas, Peter de Muro, who lived a solitary life, in a valley near Salmo, was unanimously chosen pope. He with great reluctance accepted the papal dignity; but, being prevailed upon by king Charles and his son, the king of Hungary and many other persons, he mounted an ass, and set out for Aquila in Naples, where he was consecrated; no less than two hundred thousand people being present on the occasion. He took the name of Celestine V. and continued in his former manner of life, without assuming any thing of the splendour of a pope, and, from his ignorance and simplicity, conferred benefices on improper persons, and even to different suitors, which induced the cardinals to think of deposing him. Accordingly the pope, influenced by cardinal Cajetan, who hoped to procure the pontificate for himself, made a decree for his own abdication, which, having read to the cardinals, he immediately pulled off his pontifical ornaments, and laid them at their feet.

During the pontificate of Celestine, the famous chapel of the Virgin Mary, called the house of Loretto, is said to have been transported by angels into Italy. According to the story, after the Saracens had made themselves

entirely masters of Palestine, the pilgrims being denied access to the chapel at Nazareth, it was conducted, in the year 1291, at midnight, into Dalmatia, and placed upon a little hill near the shore of the Adriatick. At the same time it was revealed to a curate in the neighbourhood, that this was the chapel of Nazareth; upon which the governor of Dalmatia sent four persons of note into Palestine, to inquire into the truth of his assertion, who, upon their return, confirmed the revelation of the curate. Three years afterwards, the angels transported the chapel into the march of Ancona, at midnight, and placed it in a wood belonging to a religious lady. About eight months after, it was removed from the wood to a hill, about two miles distant, belonging to two brothers, who immediately quarrelled about the possession of the chapel, when it unexpectedly took another leap to the place where it now stands. This story is firmly believed by most persons in the communion of the Roman church.

Boniface VIII. of the noble family of the Cajetans, was now chosen pope. He was consecrated in the church of St. Peter, in the presence of the kings of Sicily and Hungary, who, upon his return from the church, walked on both sides of his horse, which they held by the bridle. As the legality of his election was greatly questioned, Boniface was afraid his enemies would oblige Celestine to resume the papal dignity; he therefore made diligent inquiry to find him out, while Celestine, anxious to hide himself from the world, had thrice endeavoured to pass over into Dalmatia, but was prevented by the wind. Upon being discover-

ed, he was carried back to the pope, who chid him in an arrogant manner for departing without his leave, and accepting of no excuse, confined him in a strong castle during his life. Boniface now canonized St. Lewis, late king of France, and crowned James, king of Arragon, king of Corsica and Sardinia, which two islands he granted him, under an annual tribute of two thousand marks sterling, with a certain number of ships and land forces, according to the necessities of the church. Meanwhile the princes of Germany, dissatisfied with the government of Adolphus, wished to depose him, but were prevented by Boniface refusing his consent. He likewise disapproved of the king of England's invasion of Scotland, and ordered him to set John Baliol at liberty; informing him that the kingdom of Scotland was not subject to England, but belonged to the Roman see.

The following year being accounted the beginning of a new century, Boniface published a bull, promising a full pardon and remission of sins to those who, being confessed and penitent, should visit the churches of the apostles Peter and Paul, for fifteen days. In consequence of this bull, such numbers of people of all conditions flocked to Rome from every part of Eu-

A. D. 1300. rope, that, during the greatest part of the year, there were reckoned no less than two hundred thousand strangers in the city; and it is said, that the travellers on the Claudian road, had every day the appearance of a numerous army on its march. Notwithstanding this great concourse of foreigners at Rome, it is related that there was the greatest abundance of provisions, which

never rose above the common price. This institution of Boniface afterwards got the name of Jubilee, and was kept up by his successors, who observed it, in the first instances, every fifty years.

CHAP. VI.

The Popes continued till the Termination of the Schisms of the Church; with an Account of the infamous Council of Constance.

DURING these rejoicings at Rome, Boniface received an embassy from Casquus, king of the Tartars, informing him that, together with the king of Georgia and Armenia, he had marched with an army of two hundred thousand men into Syria, and had defeated the soldan of Egypt, and afterwards taken possession of Damascus; but, upon hearing that his own kingdom was invaded, he had marched back with his army, and therefore entreated the pope and the princes of Europe to send succours into Syria to secure his conquests. This embassy caused great joy at Rome, but no succours were sent into Syria. Boniface received another embassy from the emperor Albert, desiring his election to be confirmed by the apostolick see; but he would not even give audience to the ambassadors, and appearing in publick with a sword at his side, and dressed like a gentleman, he affirmed that he himself was both emperor and pope. He now also sent the bishop of Palmiers as his legate to the king of France, demanding the tithes raised for the Syrian expedition, and the re-

venues of the vacant bishopricks. The legate behaved with insolence, and was imprisoned by Philip the Handsome; Boniface, being informed of this, demanded his liberty, and declared that he was both spiritual and temporal sovereign of the whole earth. Liberty, however, was still denied to the legate, and the nuncio produced a bull from the pope, absolving the French from their allegiance to Philip, and declaring his kingdom fallen to the apostolick see. But it was no sooner produced than it was snatched from the nuncio by the count d'Artois, and thrown into the fire. Both nuncio and legate were instantly ordered to leave the kingdom. The king likewise called a parliament, and decreed that no ecclesiastick should go to Rome, and no person should carry any gold or silver out of the kingdom. Guards were also placed on the confines to prevent any letters being brought from the pope. Peter Flota, one of the king's counsellors, was sent to Rome to defend the rights of the king: he is said to have behaved with great intrepidity, and, upon the pope's threatening the king with excommunication, to have replied, "Holy father, your sword is only verbal, but that of my master is real." Boniface was now also excommunicated by the bishops of Hungary for endeavouring to place Carobert, the son of Charles Martel, upon their throne; and, in a few months, he received letters from the bishops, nobles, and the king of France. The bishops were astonished at his unheard-of proposition, of the dependency of France upon the apostolick see; the nobles wrote yet more severely; and the king expressed for him the

utmost contempt. Boniface was enraged that Philip had dared to burn the bull sealed with the pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul, as well as at the rest of his conduct; and therefore he excommunicated him. The king, in his turn, accused the pope of divers heresies, of the death of Celestine, of intrusion into the papal see, of simony, sacrilege, magick, and other enormous crimes. Boniface, in the mean time, at length confirmed the election of the emperor Albert; and, clearing himself by oath of the crimes laid to his charge, again excommunicated the king, laid his kingdom under an interdict, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and ordered the emperor to take possession of France.

Meanwhile, the cardinals Colonna, whom Boniface had persecuted, being in France, they formed a scheme with William Nogaret, one of the king's counsellors, of seizing upon the pope. They accordingly set out for Italy, and arriving in Tuscany, Nogaret pretended that he came to treat of peace, but privately hired three or four hundred French horse, who assembled in the neighbourhood of Anagni, surprised the town, and took possession of the pope's palace. Boniface, on the first alarm, was deserted by all the cardinals except two; and Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, entering his chamber, used him with great indignity, and threatened to carry him bound to Lyons, to be deposed by a general council. After they had detained him three days, and plundered all his treasures, which were immense, the citizens of Anagni, awaking from their surprise, expelled the French, and set the pope at liberty. Boniface returned to

Rome, but the grief and vexation of his imprisonment, made such an impression on his spirits, that he was seized with a fever, of which he died on the 12th of October, and was buried in the church of St. Peter.

A. D. 1303.

Benedict XI. was now chosen by the unanimous voice of the conclave. He immediately cited Nogaret, Sciarra, and all those concerned in seizing Boniface, to appear at Rome. He absolved the king of France, and restored the cardinals of the Colonna family. Soon after his election, an embassy arrived from the Tartars, entreating a reconciliation among the Christian princes, and succours to be sent into the Holy Land. A letter, in the Chaldaick language, also was received from Insibrahim, patriarch of the eastern Christians, acknowledging the authority of the pope and of the Roman church. While animating the princes to a crusade, Benedict died at Perrugia, not without suspicion of poison.

The archbishop of Bourdeaux was now elected by the name of Clement V. and the papal court was translated to Avignon, in France, where it continued for more than seventy years, to the great detriment of Italy and Rome, in which city many of the churches fell to ruins by the absence and neglect of the priests. The Italians gave the name of the Babylonish captivity to this residence of the pope's court in France. Clement revoked the bulls of Boniface against the king of France, and granted a general pardon to all persons concerned in the late dispute. He sent a legate into Italy to quiet the troubles in that kingdom, and created seven bishops, whom he sent into Great Tartary. He excommunicated the emperor Andronicus, as the em-

courage of the Greek schism and heresy, and suppressed the order of the Templars, who were accused of spitting on the cross, of denying Christ, and other impieties. Clement was now solicited to transfer the empire to France, but he artfully avoided it; and confirmed the election of the duke of Luxemburgh, who, soon after, entered Italy with an army, and was crowned with the iron crown, by the archbishop of Milan, and afterwards by the cardinals at Rome, but A. D. died, in a few months, on his march to at- 1313. tack the Neapolitans. Clement also died on the road to Bourdeaux, in the following year.

A dissention now took place in the conclave about the election of a successor; during which, the Pisans made themselves masters of the rich city of Lucca, where they seized the treasures of the Roman church, to the value of one million of florins of gold, which was deposited there in a monastery. At last, John XXII. was chosen, and received an embassy from Lewis duke of Bavaria, and Frederick duke of Austria, both competitors for the empire, each demanding a confirmation of his election by the apostolick see. But he decided not in favour of either, and claimed the administration during the interregnum. At this time, John sent legates into Britain to receive the oath of homage for the kingdoms of England and Ireland; and to deliver letters from the pope to Robert Bruce, who was only styled governor of Scotland. Robert, at first, refused to allow the legates to enter his kingdom; but, afterwards sending for them, he declared, that he would neither treat of peace, nor a truce with England, unless he had the title of

king from the pope. The legates, therefore, excommunicated him and all his adherents, and laid his kingdom under an interdict. John likewise excommunicated the king of Trinacria; and ordered Lewis of Bavaria, now emperor, to abdicate his dignity, on account of the assistance which he had given to the Gibelline faction. But the emperor, not submitting to this demand, was excommunicated and deposed by the pope, who excited the king of France to prefer a claim to the empire. However, Frederick of Austria being reconciled to the emperor, resigned in his favour; and Lewis soon after entering Italy, was crowned at Milan, by the bishop of Arezzo, and afterwards, at Rome, by Sciarra Colonna, in the church of St. Peter.

A. D. 1327.

Lewis now held a solemn assembly in Saint Peter's church; and ordered a crier to call out three times, if any person would undertake the defence of the priest James of Cahors, who called himself pope John. No answer being made, the emperor deposed him, and created an anti-pope, by the name of Nicholas V. who confirmed the deposition of John, and declared his adherents guilty of heresy. Upon the return of Lewis into Germany, the pope's legate entered Rome, and annulled all the acts of the emperor, and Peter di Corbaria, the anti-pope; the Romans testifying their consent by loud acclamations, and the boys even digging up the bodies of the Germans, and throwing them into the Tyber. Meanwhile, John offered great rewards for apprehending the anti-pope, and that unhappy person was discovered in the house of count Boniface, at Pisa, where he had been con-

cealed for several months. Finding himself without resource from the emperor or his party, he resolved to throw himself on the clemency of the pope, and voluntarily surrendered to the archbishop of Pisa, who, having received a commission to that purpose, absolved him, upon his abjuring certain articles prescribed to him by his holiness. Soon after, the anti-pope arrived at Avignon, and appeared in a publick consistory, with a rope about his neck, begging absolution from the pope. He was afterwards confined an honourable prisoner in the palace, where he lived three years, and at his death, was buried in the church of the Franciscans. About the same time, John also died at Avignon. This pope added the third crown to the pontifical tiara. The first crown worn by the popes was sent by Clovis, king of France, as a present to Saint John de Lateran, and was placed by pope Hormisdas, about the year 515, upon his own head, above the cap which he usually wore. His successors, till Boniface VIII. wore the single crown; but that pope, on the occasion of his disputes with Philip, king of France, assumed a double crown, to signify his claim to the temporal as well as spiritual authority. At last, John added a third crown to the tiara, in which form it has been worn by all his successors. A. D. 1334.

Cardinal Fournier was now elected pope, and took the name of Benedict XII. bestowing upon the cardinals one hundred thousand florins of gold, and sending fifty thousand to repair the churches of Rome. The emperor immediately proposed a peace with him, and his request was supported by the nobles and bishops of Germany,

but it was without effect. Benedict gave the investiture of Sardinia and Corsica to the king of Arragon, and sold the title of vicar of the empire to several nobles in Lombardy. The emperor soon after entered into an alliance with the king of France, and Benedict died at Avignon.

Clement VI. was now elected pope. The emperor made to him the most submissive concessions, but Clement insisted on yet greater ones, and, at last, proceeded to excommunicate the emperor. During these transactions at Avignon, a great revolution happened at Rome, owing to one Nicholas Gabrini di Rimzo, the son of a miller, who having received a good education from his parents, and being of an active and enterprising genius, was elected a publick scribe, or notary. Having been sent with the ambassadors to pope Clement, to invite him to Rome, and having received a denial from his holiness, he upon his return assembled the Romans in the capitol, and exhibited to them, in a long and eloquent discourse, the deplorable state of their city, and the happiness of their ancient liberty. His words had an instantaneous effect on the people; they unanimously declared him their tribune, and conferred upon him the sovereign power. He immediately degraded the senators appointed by the pope; ordered several of the nobility convicted of oppression, to be put to death; and banished the Orsini, the Colonnæ, and many other noble families. Having established his authoritiy, he made himself respected by his regard to justice, and sent letters to all the cities of Italy, informing them of the liberty of the Romans, and desiring them to give assist-

ance to their mother city. His messengers were every where treated with respect. Several cities, concluding that the Romans were about to recover their ancient grandeur, promised their assistance, and sent golden rings as tokens of their fidelity. Not only the cities of Italy, but even foreign princes, sought his alliance. He received an embassy, with an offer of friendship, from Lewis king of Hungary. About the same time, ambassadors arrived from Jane, queen of Naples, desiring his mediation with the king of Hungary. The tribune likewise received an embassy from the emperor Lewis, soliciting his friendship; and Clement wrote to him from Avignon, commending his proceedings, and exhorting him to govern Rome in his name. A. D. 1347.

This grandeur was of very short continuance; for intoxicated with authority, Nicholas disdained to have any dependence upon the pope, and resolved to be absolute master in the city of the Romans. Being desirous of the dignity of knighthood, he bathed himself in the font in which Constantine the Great had formerly been baptized, and then received his arms from the syndick of Rome, and two knights, before the altar of St. Peter; at the same time, being crowned with the different crowns, he assumed the title of Candidate Knight of the Holy Ghost, severe and merciful Deliverer of Rome, Assertor of the Liberties of Italy, Lover of the Universe, and August Tribune. He likewise published a letter, declaring Rome the head of the world; and cited Lewis and Charles of Bohemia, with the other electors, to appear at Rome, to justify the rights and privileges which they assumed.

These extravagant proceedings ruined his character, and the pope looking upon him as a mad enthusiast, published several bulls against him, accusing him of schism and heresy, upon which the ardour of the people in his favour greatly abated. Soon after, the banished nobles entering the city by surprise with some troops, Nicholas was deserted, and fled to Lewis, king of Hungary, who was then at Naples. He afterwards skulked, for some time, in the habit of a pilgrim, among the mountains, and at length was brought to Avignon, where he was detained prisoner.

About this time, the emperor was killed by a fall from his horse, and Lewis of Bavaria seized upon the kingdom of Naples. As the plague raged, in a most violent degree, in Italy and in other countries of Europe, Clement granted a general indulgence to all those who were penitent, and confessed their sins, and to the priests who attended and administered the sacrament to the sick, supporting at his own charge those who were seized with the distemper at Avignon; and, to prevent the dead from lying unburied, he hired people to carry them to a field which he had purchased for that purpose. Meanwhile the jubilee commenced at Rome, where, notwithstanding the plague, such numbers of people assembled, that from Christmas to Easter, there were continually from a million to twelve hundred thousand foreigners in that city. Scarcely the tenth part of those pilgrims returned home, being cut off by the plague, or the fatigue of the journey. The Romans, with great rapacity, practised upon them all manner of extortion. Two years after this, a letter, supposed to be

A. D. 1350.

written by the archbishop of Milan, was dropped in the consistory, and addressed to the pope. It was dated from the Middle of Hell, and in the name of the Prince of Darkness, thanked his Vicar the Pope, and his counsellors and cardinals, for their great services, exhorting them to a steady perseverance in their present course, that they might be entitled to a full reward in his kingdom. Thus, mentioning the particular vices of each, he chid them for allowing their doctrine to differ from their life, and exhorted them, for the future, to teach as they lived. The emperor Charles now informed the pope of his intention of entering Italy, to receive the imperial crown; but Clement died soon after, at Avignon, and the bishop of Ostia, who took the name of Innocent VI. was chosen pope. A. D. 1352.

Innocent sent a legate to Rome, and, with him, Nicholas Rienzo, the former tribune, in order to oppose the designs of Francis Baroncelli, who, supported by the favour of the people, had expelled the nobility, and assumed the title of Tribune II. Rienzo was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and again created tribune; Baroncelli was put to death, and the authority of the legate acknowledged. A few months after, however, the Romans revolted against Rienzo, and put him to death. The emperor now marched into Italy, and was crowned king of Lombardy, at Milan, and afterwards by cardinal Bertrandi, in the church of St. Peter at Rome. But, by refusing the government of Rome, he abandoned all the rights of the empire, quickly lost his re- A. D. 1355,

putation, and was treated with indignity by those who, if he had asserted his own rights, would have been his firmest friends.

Meanwhile, great disorders happened at the pope's court at Avignon. The cardinal of Perigord, upon a contest about precedency, having raised a tumult, some persons were killed, while several young cardinals took some young married women from their husbands by violence, and kept them publicly in their houses. The kingdom of Italy still continued to be desolated by intestine wars. Ægidius, the legate, published a crusade against Ordelassus, a nobleman of Lombardy, who had seized upon the patrimony of the church, and who, in contempt of his fulminations, made effigies of the pope and cardinals, whom he excommunicated; having also apprehended some of the crusaders, he imprinted the figure of a cross, with a red hot iron, upon the soles of their feet. He likewise seized the priests whom the legate had sent to publish the crusade in Milan, and ordered him to be enclosed in an iron cage, and roasted to death. At Avignon also, Innocent was alarmed by the approach of a numerous troop of banditti; he therefore caused the city to be fortified against their attempts, but was freed from his alarm by a message from their leader, Arnold of Gascony, an arch-priest, declaring that he had no intention to invade his territories. About this time, Bernabo Visconti laid siege to Bologna, despising all the pope's fulminations; and the Romans having revolted, chose one Lelius Bonadota, a shoemaker, as their senator, who, by the assistance of the people, expelled the great

est part of the nobility and gentry from the city; soon after, however, they submitted. Innocent now died at Avignon, and was succeeded by Urban V. A. D. 1362.

This pope transferred his residence to Rome, and was, with great joy, received by the Italians. He excommunicated Bernabo Visconti, and forced his wife, as being a christian woman, from the bond of marriage; but, in the following year, concluded a peace with him. Being informed that Peter, king of Castile, had exercised great cruelty towards the ecclesiasticks, he likewise sent a legate into Spain, who, inviting the king to a conference upon the bank of a river, read the pope's letter from a boat, and declared him excommunicated; after which declaration, he made the best of his way down the river, and escaped. The king was so exasperated, that he pursued him into the water on horseback, and returning, threatened to revenge the insult by a war. Urban, therefore, thought proper to accommodate all differences, upon certain conditions, not very honourable to the holy see. The emperor now raising an army of forty thousand men, gave peace to Italy. Arriving near the city of Rome, he was met by the pope, and led his horse by the bridle as far as the church of St. Peter. About this time, also, the emperor Paleologus arrived at Rome, and abjured the schism of the Greek church. Having met the pope without the city, he kissed his feet, and led his horse by the bridle to the Vatican church, where he held the stirrup till his holiness alighted. In the following year, the parliament of England refused to pay the allegiance and tribute due to the holy see; and, in case of the

pope's persisting, threatened to oppose him to the utmost of their power. This vigorous opposition obliged the pope to desist. Soon after this,

A. D. 1370. Urban, at the solicitation of the cardinals, returned to Avignon, where he died on the 16th of December.

Gregory XI. was the successor of Urban. Soon after his promotion, he received an embassy from the king of Denmark, desiring his assistance against the Jutlanders, who had revolted; but deputies also arriving from the rebels, and representing the king as a tyrant, Gregory threatened him with excommunication, and the king returned an answer in these words: "Waldemar, the king, to the pope, wisheth health. We hold our life from God, our kingdom from our subjects, our wealth from our ancestors, and our faith from your predecessors: if you are not our friend, we restore you the faith by this present writing." A revolt now took place in Italy against the authority of the pope. The Florentines, in particular, under pretence that their liberty was in danger, determined upon

A. D. 1375. war. They imprisoned the pope's nuncio, destroyed the prison of the inquisition, and erected a standard, on which was written, in large letters, the word *Libertas*. Gregory, therefore, excommunicated them, and ordered their property to be seized, and their persons to be enslaved, in whatever country they should be found. In England, Germany, and other kingdoms, they were consequently made slaves; which, soon after, obliged them to think of an accommodation. Gregory now went to Rome, but the Romans maintained the sovereignty of their city. About this time, he wrote

to the chancellor of Oxford, to imprison Wickliffe, but he was protected by the king, the duke of Lancaster, and the nobles, as well as by the citizens of London. Gregory in the following year died at Rome.

Upon his death, the Italian prelates exhorted the cardinals to choose a Roman or Italian pope, otherwise, they threatened them with an insurrection of the people. When the cardinals entered the conclave, the tumult increased. The common people having expelled the nobles, and brought a great many peasants into the city, with great violence rushed into the conclave, and demanded a Roman pope. At length, at the persuasion of the bannerets, they quitted the conclave, and the doors were shut; they continued, however, all night round the palace, with great tumult and noise. In the morning, when they heard the celebration of the mass, they rung the alarm bells, and, having obliged the cardinals to open the windows of the conclave, they declared that, unless they immediately chose a Roman or Italian, they would put them to death. In this extremity, the French cardinals, who were three-fourths of the whole college, protesting that they only consented to an election from the fear of immediate death, named Bartholomew, archbishop of Bari, a gentleman of Naples. As this prelate was remarkable for his modesty and humility, the cardinals were persuaded that he would acknowledge his election to be null, and would, therefore, abdicate the pontificate. They were, however, disappointed, for the archbishop assumed the name of Urban VI. and obliged the cardinals, six of whom had fled to the castle of St. Angelo, to come to the palace, and perform

the ceremony of his coronation. But they soon after went to Anagni, and wrote to Urban, requiring him to abdicate the pontificate. Being unable to prevail with him, they went to Fondi, where, under the protection of queen Jane, they chose cardinal Robert, who took the name of Clement VIII.

Thus a violent schism arose in the church, to the great disturbance of several kingdoms in Europe, which were thereby involved in the miseries of war. The anti-pope retired to Avignon, while Urban crowned Charles of Durazzo, who had come with an army of Hungarians to Rome, king of Sicily and Jerusalem. Urban, soon after, went to Naples, where a rupture took place between him and the king. This rupture was fomented by cardinal Reali, who, for what reason is uncertain, had resolved upon the ruin of Urban. The Conspiracy which he excited, being discovered by one of the cardinals, Urban immediately held a consistory, where, laying before them the proofs he had received of the plot, he ordered six or seven of the cardinals to be seized and put in irons. Having, by tortures, wrested from them a confession of their guilt, he confined them to separate dungeons. Immediately after these proceedings, he assembled the clergy and the people of Nocera, where he then was, and gave them a particular account of the conspiracy; then he erected a cross, and, with lighted candles, excommunicated the king and queen of Naples, cardinal Reali, with the other convicted cardinals; and the anti-pope, with all his adherents. The king and queen were also deposed, the cardinals deprived of their dignities, and the city of Naples laid under an interdict.

Urban was now besieged by the king of Nocera, but escaped by sea to Genoa, where he ordered the degraded cardinals to be put to death. He soon after returned to Rome, where he died, by poison, on the 12th of October, and was succeeded by Boniface IX. A. D 1389.

In the following year, a jubilee was celebrated at Rome, and indulgences sold, a third part of the profits of which was given to the pope. Not long after, Urban, on account of the many indignities he suffered from the bannerets of Rome, retired to Perugia, where, at the entreaty of the queen-dowager of Sicily, he granted a divorce betwixt her son Ladislaus and his young queen Constantia, for no other reason than because a report prevailed that Constantia's mother had been divorced by Martin, duke of Monablanco. About this time, the books of John Wickliffe having been carried into Bohemia, by a young nobleman of that kingdom, who had studied at Oxford, his doctrines were embraced by great numbers of people at Prague, and publicly preached by John Huss. But a priest of Bamberg ordered many who professed them to be burnt, and commanded those who recanted their opinions, to wear upon their breast and back, a yellow cross for twelve months. In the mean time, the anti-pope dying, was succeeded by Benedict XIII.; and both popes were solicited to resign. Boniface consented to resign after Benedict had abdicated, and Benedict refusing was imprisoned by the king of France. A jubilee was now again celebrated at Rome. As the plague raged in Italy, and especially at Rome, where seven or eight hundred people died daily, very few of the pil- A. D. 1400.

grims returned home; great numbers of them were robbed, and the women ravished by the pope's soldiers in the neighbourhood of the city.

This year, the pope confirmed the election of the duke of Bavaria as emperor; and the duke of Milan assumed the title of king of Italy, but died soon after. The anti-pope escaped from prison, and, in some measure, recovered his authority; and Boniface dying at Rome, was succeeded by Innocent VII. Innocent dying, was again succeeded by Gregory XII. who promised to abdicate, and exhorted the anti-pope to resign, but soon altering his resolution, was deserted by his cardinals. The anti-pope, also, was similarly deserted. A general council soon after assembled at Pisa, and, deposing them both, elected Alexander V. who conferred the crown of Naples on the duke of Anjou.

A. D. 1409.

John Huss, being elected rector of the university of Prague, began to translate the writings of Wickliffe into the vulgar tongue, and to exclaim against the authority of the pope. In the mean time Alexander died, and was succeeded by John XIII. who soon after defeated, and excommunicated the king of Naples, causing also a crusade to be preached against him, which again gave the Hussites an opportunity of exclaiming against the papal authority. Accordingly, three of these persons, in three different churches of Prague, during the reading of the papal bull, called out that the pope was antichrist, who ordered a crusade to be preached against Christians. They were immediately apprehended and imprisoned, a circumstance which

Huss was no sooner informed of, than he went at the head of two thousand men, to the magistrates, demanding the liberty of the prisoners, offering to answer himself for their crime, if it was any crime to speak the truth. The senate promised that nothing should be determined against the prisoners; next morning, however, they were executed. Their friends, among whom were a great many students, immediately assembled, and, wrapping the dead bodies in linen, carried them with great solemnity through the churches of the city, calling out, "These are the saints who have given their bodies for the testimonies of God." Soon after this, by the intrigues of the bishops, John Huss was banished the city.

In order to settle all these disturbances, the pope called a council in the city of Constance, which was opened on the 5th of November, when the first session was appointed to be held on the 16th. Two days before the opening of the council, John Huss arrived at Constance, on the faith of a safe-conduct granted by the emperor Sigismund. There he employed his time in preaching to the people; and, refusing to desist at the desire of the pope, was apprehended, and shut up in one of the chambers of the palace. The emperor sent orders to enlarge the prisoner, but they were disregarded by the pope, who insisted that he himself had not given John a safe-conduct. However, his confinement was, in some measure, relaxed: he was committed to the keeping of the bishop of Lausanne; and four cardinals, with the generals of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and six archbishops and bishops, were commissioned to examine his faith. After several

A. D. 1414.

sessions, the pope being accused of many crimes, promised to abdicate, but fled in the night from Constance. The council, however, continued, and its authority was declared superior to his. In the sixth session, Jerome of Prague was cited to appear, and afterwards for disobeying the mandate, declared contumacious. In the eighth session, the writings of Wickliffe were prohibited, and ordered to be burned; his bones were also ordered to be dug up and thrown into profane ground. Soon after, the pope was brought prisoner, under a strong guard, and, being accused of various crimes, was deposed. On the 17th of June, John Huss was called before a private assembly, in the presence of the emperor, who exhorted him to submit to the authority of the council, and promised, from a regard to his brother Wenceslaus, he would dismiss him safe; otherwise, instead of being a protector to him in his errors, he would, with his own hands, light the fire to which he would be condemned. John pleaded the safe-conduct which the emperor had given him, but declared that he came not to the council to defend his doctrines with a perverse obstinacy; but to retract them, if he should be taught any thing that was better. Next day, he was again called before the emperor and several prelates, and was desired to abjure twenty-six heretical articles; John required not to be compelled to do any thing against his conscience. He said, several of the articles he had never taught, and, therefore, could not renounce them; the rest he was willing to forsake upon being better instructed. The emperor and prelates, not being satisfied with these conditional submissions, John was

conducted to prison. The abdication of Gregory XII. was, about this time, received by the council. In the fifteenth session, John Huss was introduced into the council, and placed upon a high seat in the view of the whole assembly, as a person convicted of heresy, by those who had been appointed to examine him, although his judges had used no arguments to disprove his doctrines, but only insisted that he ought to submit his judgment to a general council. After he was seated, an order was read, enjoining the strictest silence, under pain of excommunication and two months imprisonment; then the propositions of Wickliffe were read and condemned; John Huss was declared an obstinate heretick, ordered to be degraded, and to be delivered to the secular court, and his writings were condemned to the flames. In consequence of this sentence, he was stripped of his sacerdotal habit, a paper mitre, painted with devils, was put upon his head, and he was delivered to the magistrate of Constance, who, the same day, ordered him to be burnt alive. Ænæus Sylvius, afterwards Pius II. in his history of Bohemia, relates, that he walked to the stake as cheerfully as if he had been going to an entertainment, and, while he was burning, sung an hymn with a loud and strong voice. A. D. 1415.

Though his ashes were thrown into the lake, yet his disciples carried off the earth on which he suffered, which was distributed among his followers, and preserved by them as sacred relicks. The news of his death no sooner reached Bohemia, than the nobles and barons, who had embraced his doctrine, wrote threatening letters to

the council, and entered into an association for their mutual defence.

By desire of the council, the emperor now went to Perpignan, and had a conference with Benedict, who refused to abdicate. On the emperor's return to Constance, he was deposed by the council, and Martin V. elected pope. At his election, when the conclave was opened, the emperor entered, and prostrated himself at the feet of the pope, who was afterwards conducted to the cathedral church, with the greatest solemnity, the emperor and the elector of Brandenburgh holding the reins of his horse, and being followed by a hundred princes, the ambassadors of twelve kings, and a whole council.

Prior to this, Jerome of Prague signed a recantation; but afterwards retracting, and endeavouring to escape, he was brought back from the confines of Bohemia, by John, duke of Bavaria, and shut up in a dark and loathsome dungeon in the bottom of a tower, in which situation he continued several months. At last, in the twenty-first session, which was held on the 29th of May, Jerome of Prague, after having with great eloquence and intrepidity, defended his doctrines in several private audiences, was introduced into the council, and condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretick. He was then delivered to the secular magistrate, who ordered him to be burned alive; which punishment he suffered with the greatest constancy and resolution. When the executioner was going to light the fire behind him, he called out to him to light it before his face; for if he had been afraid of burning he never would have come to Con-

stance. In the following year, however, the doctrines of the Hussites were approved by the university of Prague. The council of Constance was soon after dissolved. A. D. 1417.

The pope now returned to Italy, and resided in Florence; and the Hussites soon after, under the command of Zisca, committing great outrages in Bohemia, he ordered a crusade to be preached against them. They, however, published a letter in justification of their proceedings. About this time, the anti-pope died at Peniscola, and, having on his death-bed bound his followers to elect a successor, under pain of eternal damnation, he was succeeded by Clement VIII. Alphonsus, the king of Arragon, was now entreated to desert the anti-pope, who at last, by his voluntary abdication, terminated the schism.

CHAP. VII.

The Popes continued till the Pontificate of Alexander VI.; with an Account of the Council of Basil.

THUS the schism of the church was terminated after it had continued fifty years and ten months. Soon after Martin died, and was succeeded by Eugenius IV. He confirmed the legation of cardinal Julian, who had been sent into Germany by his predecessor, and who now entered Bohemia, with an army, to be avenged on the Hussites. But he was attacked with such impetuosity, that after a weak resistance, his army was entirely defeated, with the loss of their artillery, provisions, and baggage; amongst which was the pope's bull, and the legate's cross and vestments, which served for subjects of derision to the victors. Conformably to a decree of the council of Constance, a general council was now held at Basil, which the pope desired cardinal Julian to dissolve, but which that cardinal judged proper to continue. In the mean time at Rome a Franciscan conspired against the life of the pope, by exciting animosities betwixt him and the Colonnæ, and by endeavouring to seize the castle of St. Angelo by surprise, with the intention of delivering it to that family. But the Franciscan was seized and put to death, and an accommodation concluded between Eugenius and the Colonnæ. About the same time, the emperor received the iron crown at Milan.

A. D. 1431.

The pope now again dissolved the council of Basil, but the fathers refused obedience to his bull, and summoned the pope and the cardinals to come to Basil. Deputies from the Hussites, having been solicited by the council, arrived with much pomp. They were attended by three hundred armed gentlemen; the people crowded the walls and streets through which they were to pass, and looked, with astonishment, at their fierce and martial appearance. A. D. 1433. Being introduced to the council, cardinal Julian made a long discourse to them, recommending peace and union; and, as the catholick church, which could be no where better represented than in a general council, could not err in the faith, he exhorted the Bohemians, as sons of the church, to hearken to her voice, by submitting to the decrees of the council of Basil. Rockysanus, one of their deputies, answered in a few words; after expressing his gratitude to God for his favours, and to the legate and council for their hospitality and kindness, he desired a day might be appointed when they could be heard upon their four articles. The council assigned the sixteenth of the month, when Rockysanus began his discourse upon the first article, which he continued for three forenoons successively; Nicholas, the Taborite, discoursed upon the second article for two days; and Udalricus, a priest of the Orphans, expatiated upon the third article, for two days also. Lastly, Peter Payne, an Englishman, illustrated the fourth article, in three forenoons. The catholicks then proceeded to their defence; John de Ragusa, general proctor of the Dominicans, spent eight days in answering the first

article; Ægidius Carlerius, dean of Cambray, discoursed four forenoons on the second article; and Henry Kalteisan, a Dominican, employed three days in discussing the third article. Lastly, John Pulomar, archdean of Barcelona, declaimed three days on the last article. The Hussites not being convinced by these measures of the catholicks, Rockysanus impugned the discourse of the Ragusan for six days; and, one dispute begetting another, they debated fifty days, without any appearance of an accommodation. At length, the duke of Bavaria, the protector of the council, proposed to terminate their differences, by a friendly conference; but this method also failing, and the Bohemians urging to return, both parties agreed that the council should send deputies to treat with the Hussites, in a diet to be held on the seventh of June. Accordingly, the fathers named ten of their most learned brethren, who, on the fourteenth of April, set out for Prague, with the Bohemian deputies, and arriving soon after, made certain alterations in the articles of the Bohemians, who, at length, submitted to the church.

In the mean time, the emperor Sigismund was crowned at Rome. At the tenth session of the council, the pope was accused of contumacy; and he, in return, annulled their proceedings, but being afterwards obliged to fly from Rome, in disguise, he consented to adhere to the council. A schism, soon after, took place in the council, and he transferred it to Ferrara, for which he was suspended by the fathers who remained at Basil, and the duke of Savoy elected pope by the name of Felix V. In the mean time, Frederick III. was elected emperor of the Romans; and

the Greek emperor, with his eastern prelates, joined the pope at Ferrara, who now transferred the council to Florence, where the union with the Greeks was accomplished. Eugenius also denounced an anathema against the anti-pope. The Greeks, on their return renounced, and the jacobins in Egypt embraced the Roman faith, which was also received by the Abyssinians. The pope and the council of Basil, soon after, sent deputies to the diet of Frankfort, and the fathers agreeing to a translation to some other city, Eugenius returned to Rome, where A. D. he died not long after, and was succeeded 1447. by Nicholas V.

Felix now abdicated the pontificate, and the council of Basil was dissolved. The emperor soon after entered Italy, and was crowned with the empress at Rome; and Nicholas dying, was succeeded by Calixtus III. This pope acted vigorously against the Turks, who, in the beginning of April 1453, had advanced against Constantinople, under the emperor Mahomet, with an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, and a fleet of three hundred and twenty ships. On the twenty-ninth of May, they took that city by storm, killing forty thousand men, making sixty thousand captives, and thereby putting an end to the Greek empire. He excited, against them, an army of forty thousand men, who marched to the relief of Belgrade. However, the Christian princes did not second his efforts: he, soon after, died at Rome, and A. D. was succeeded by Æneas Sylvius Picolo- 1458. mini, who took the name of Pius II.

This pope received an embassy from the emperor with other Christian princes, and gave the

investiture of Naples to Ferdinand, son of Alphonsus of Arragon. He condemned appeals to future general councils, and sent a legate into France to congratulate the king on his succession, who revoked the pragmatick sanction. Pius promoted the Turkish expedition, and promised himself to sail into Asia, but died, on the thirteenth of August, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the sixth of his pontificate, when Paul II. was elected.

A. D. 1464.

This pope, to gratify the cardinals, permitted them to wear red hats, and mitres of damask silk, which only the popes had formerly worn; and allowed a hundred crowns a month to those whose yearly revenue did not amount to four thousand. As he had granted the ornaments of a pope to the cardinals, he resolved to augment his own; and being very fond of precious stones, which he took great pains to procure, and which he spent whole nights in viewing, he caused a new pontifical mitre to be made with three crowns, which he adorned with diamonds to the value of a hundred and twenty thousand crowns. He also exhorted the Christian princes to an expedition against the Turks, who soon after defeated the famous Scanderbeg, in Albania, and obliged him to fly into Italy. He received an embassy from the emperor, professing his obedience to him as pope, and from the king of Naples, who assisted him in reducing the counts of Anquillara. Hearing that the king of Bohemia had attacked the catholicks of Silesia, he absolved them from their vassalage to that crown, and put them under the protection of the king of Hungary, excommunicating their Bohemian oppressor. He also desired the Germans to

protect the catholicks of that country; and, at last, offered the crown of Bohemia to the king of the Hungarians. Paul now, on a false report of a conspiracy, imprisoned Platina, the historian, and caused him to be tortured twice in one day. When Platina was brought before him, he was accused of being led by one Callimanco, who had correspondence with some banditti in the wood of Vilitre. After exculpating himself, Platina endeavoured to persuade the pope, that the report of a plot must have been false, as Callimanco was an unfit person for such an enterprise; being a bad orator, slothful, ambitious, poor, without forces and dependants, and besides almost blind. But this discourse served only to convince the pope that he was guilty. Paul therefore said, in a passion, "This fellow must be forced by the rack to confess the truth, for he understands the true art of plotting;" and, though fully informed of the falsehood of the plot, a few days afterwards, yet that he might not seem to have acted from levity, he caused Platina to be stretched upon the rack twice in one day, and imprisoned for a whole year. Not contented with this, and in order that his severity might seem to have the better foundation, he charged the persons whom he had thus unfeelingly imprisoned, with denying the immortality of the soul, calling in question the existence of a God, and being too great admirers of pagan antiquities. But at length, wearied with the intercession of the cardinals, he set them at liberty. This pope also published a bull for celebrating a jubilee every twenty-five years; and exerted himself to oppose the Turks; but nothing was effected, by reason of

the slothful inactivity of the emperor, which occasioned a legate to write to the cardinal of Pavia, that they would surely defeat the Turks, if the emperor would fight with as great vigour as he then showed. Soon after, Paul died at Rome, of a fit of apoplexy, no person being present at his death, and was succeeded by Sixtus IV.

A. D. 1471.

Sixtus equipped a fleet of several ships to act against the Turks. Having given his benediction to this fleet while lying in the Tyber, and granted full remission of sins to all those who should die during the expedition, cardinal Caraffa sailed thence, in the beginning of June, and soon after, joined the Neapolitans and Venetians. The whole fleet, which consisted of eighty-five sail, made an unsuccessful attack upon Attalia, or Satalia, a city of Pamphylia; but afterwards, when the Neapolitans had returned home, the legate surprised and plundered Smyrna, and arrived at Rome about the end of January, with twelve camels laden with booty, and twenty-five Turkish captives. The pope soon after, created his brother Jeromimo, prince of Imola and Forli; and about the same time, received a visit from the king of Denmark, and many of his nobles, habited as pilgrims. The king, who was much admired for his stature, and on account of his title of king of the Goths, behaved with great submission to the pope and the sacred college. He held the bason when the pope washed his hands; and on Good Friday, he refused to kiss the cross till all the cardinals had performed that ceremony.

A jubilee was now celebrated at Rome, but not with such a great concourse of pilgrims as

was expected. Sixtus soon after, entered into a conspiracy to murder the Medici at Florence. The assassins whom he employed, having a long time waited to find the two brothers together, at length determined to attack them in the cathedral church during the celebration of mass, while the archbishop of Pisa should seize the palace and surprise the senate. However, they failed in the attempt; for Julian only was slain, and Lorenzo saved himself in the vestry. The bishop, and greater part of the conspirators, were apprehended and executed. Seeing his plot miscarry, the pope now declared war against the Florentines, who were assisted by the king of France and the duke of Milan; almost all the Christian princes interceded for them, and the king of Naples concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with them; still the pope was not reconciled to them, till forced by the Turks landing an army of twenty thousand men in Italy. He then solicited the assistance of every Christian power; but on the death of the emperor Mohammed, the Turks evacuated Italy; which, however, in order to satisfy the private revenge of the pope, was embroiled in new wars. In resentment for the peace which Ferdinand, king of Naples, had concluded with the Florentines, Sixtus entered into an alliance against him, with the Venetians. The Romans now threatened an insurrection, and the Neapolitans ravaged their territory. A peace, however, was soon after concluded, and Sixtus died on the thirteenth of August. A. D. 1484.

Upon his death, great disturbances took place at Rome: Jeromimo sent troops to Rome to de-

fend his palace; but the college of cardinals would not admit them into the city, and his palace was burned by the troops of the Savilli and Colonnæ, his countess being obliged to save herself in the house of the cardinal of Milan. However, the opposite party of the Ursini were in possession of the castle of St. Angelo, and threatened to elect a pope by themselves. The cardinals who were in the other interest, to prevent a schism, granted Jeromimo six thousand ducats as arrears due to him as general of the church, and gave him a safe-conduct to retire into Imola; on which account, the Ursini surrendered the castle of St. Angelo, and a truce was made for a month, between both parties, that a pope might be legally elected. Accordingly twenty-five cardinals entered the conclave, on the twenty-sixth of August, and next day, chose John Baptista Cibo, by the name of Innocent VIII.

A. D. 1434.

While this pope exhorted others to peace, he himself engaged in a war against the king of Naples, who agreed to a peace which he soon after violated. About this time, Zem or Zizim, brother of the grand signior, then a prisoner of Robert Daubusson, grand master of Rhodes, was brought to Rome, where he was presented to the pope, in a publick consistory, by the ambassador of France; but notwithstanding the entreaties and threats of all who were present, he would not kneel before his holiness, or consent to kiss his feet. In the following year, Innocent deposed Ferdinand, on account of his violation of the treaty he had concluded with him, and gave his kingdom to the king of France. Ferdinand caused his ambassador to make an

appeal to a general council. A convention was now held at Rome, to consult of an expedition against the Turks, when it was agreed, that if the king of France, Spain, or England, should go in person against the Turks, the pope should likewise accompany him; but if none of those kings engaged personally in the expedition, the forces by sea and land should be commanded by two cardinal legates; and lastly, that the Italians, French, Spaniards, and English, should act by sea, and the Germans, Bohemians, Poles, and Hungarians, by land. All these projects vanished in smoke; and Innocent soon after received an embassy from the soldan of Egypt, then at war with the Turks, desiring Zem to be sent to him, in order to distress the enemy. However, an ambassador, about the same time, arriving from Bajazet, entreating the pope to detain his brother, and offering an annual subsidy of forty thousand ducats for his subsistence, Innocent accepted of the proposal, and dropped all thoughts of the expedition. Nevertheless, he did not forget to raise the tythes in France, but made a present to the king of two-thirds of them, in order to obtain the other for himself. In the following year, however, he granted a subsidy to the king of Spain against the Moors; and concluded a peace with the king of Naples. Innocent survived this peace only a few weeks, and died, on the twenty-fifth of July, in the eighth year of his pontificate. A. D. 1492.

CHAP. VIII.

The Popes continued till the Time of the Council of Trent; Rise of Luther; Sack of Rome.

UPON the death of Innocent, the factions of the different pretenders to the pontificate, the chief of whom were the cardinals Sforza and Rovere, involved all Rome in confusion. However, both of these cardinals were prevailed upon to resign their pretensions, in favour of cardinal Roderick Borgia, who, by great promises and a liberal distribution of the money which he had amassed, acquired the plurality of votes; and, on the tenth of August, was declared pope by the name of Alexander VI. He had been created a cardinal when a young man, by his uncle Calixtus III. but his life was so infamous, that Pius II. after having often reproved him, at length, drove him from his presence. As his character was well known, his election alarmed all Italy; Ferdinand particularly declared, with tears, to his queen, that a pope had been chosen whose conduct would be most pernicious to all Christendom. Guicciardini says, "Alexander had great natural abilities, and was remarkable for his address and powers of persuasion; but was chiefly distinguished by his vices; namely, debauchery, insincerity, impudence, irreligion, avarice, ambition, cruelty, and an immoderate desire of promoting his natural children to dignities and honours."

Alexander, when he was cardinal, kept in his house, as his wife, one Venocia, a Roman, by whom he had four sons and one daughter.

He purchased for his eldest son Peter, the dutchy of Candia in Spain; but he dying soon after, he conferred that dutchy on his third son John, who married the natural daughter of Alphonsus, duke of Calabria. The second son, Cæsar, was created a cardinal, and afterwards duke of Valentinois. The youngest son Geoffrey, obtained a principality in Naples, and married another natural daughter of Alphonsus. His daughter Lucretia had been married, while he was a cardinal, to a Spanish nobleman; but after his promotion to the pontificate, he took her from her first husband, and gave her to the prince of Pesaro; then divorcing her from him, he gave her to a natural son of Alphonsus king of Naples, and after the death of that husband, she married the duke of Ferrara.

Upon the accession of Alexander, the states of Italy agreed to congratulate him in a body, but this proposal was prevented from being put in execution by Peter de Medicis, who, from a youthful vanity, desired to display his magnificence at Rome as ambassador from Florence. This conduct of Peter, in which he was joined by the king of Naples, gave great umbrage to Lewis Sforza, who therefore took the first opportunity of exciting the pope against them both: and Virginius Ursini, Peter's brother-in-law, having bought some castles near Rome, from the nephew of the late pope, he persuaded Alexander to claim them as fiefs fallen to the apostolick see, since the sale had been made without his knowledge. The pope accordingly insisted that Virginius should pay forty thousand ducats to him, as supreme lord of those castles. But this proposal being rejected, he again offered to give

the investiture of the castles to Virginius, and to conclude an alliance with Ferdinand, if the duke of Calabria would give one of his natural daughters to one of his sons. Alphonsus disdaining this alliance, the pope concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with the republick of Venice, and with Lewis Sforza, governor of Milan. Sforza having usurped the government from his nephew, John Galeazzo, Ferdinand, at the entreaty of his grand-daughter, Galeazzo's wife, sent an ambassador to Milan, desiring Lewis to resign. Sforza, therefore, now invited the king of France to take possession of Naples, promising him his assistance both with men and money. Ferdinand, to avert this storm, resolved to accommodate his differences with the pope, who very readily hearkened to his proposals, and on condition that Virginius should pay to the apostolick see, forty thousand ducats for his late purchase, and that Geoffrey, the pope's youngest son, should be contracted to Alphonsus' natural daughter, and be created prince of Squillaci, with a yearly revenue of ten thousand ducats, he promised, by a secret bull, to assist him in defending the kingdom of Naples.

In the mean time, being informed by the ambassadors of the king of Spain, that Christopher Columbus had discovered America or the West-Indies, he published a bull, granting to Ferdinand and Isabella, and to their heirs, all the islands and continents discovered, or to be discovered, on the west side of a meridian line, which line should be computed a hundred leagues to the westward of the isles of Cape Verd, and the Azores. From this grant, however, he excepted all those lands which were already dis-

covered by other Christian princes, on the west side of the said line. These he left as the property of the possessors, and besides made it a condition of his grant, that the king should send learned and pious men to instruct the inhabitants of those countries in the Christian faith. About the same time, he made a promotion of twelve cardinals at Rome, among whom was Cæsar Borgia, one of his natural sons, whose elevation was, for some time, vigourosly opposed by the whole sacred college. Being still desirous of procuring new dignities for his children, he again threatened to desert the king of Naples, if he would not compel the cardinal of St. Peter to deliver up the castle of Ostia, attributing the cardinal's rebellion to the king's instigation. It would have been vain for Ferdinand to have protested his innocence; but death prevented him from feeling the resentment of the pope. A. D. 1494.

Alexander appeared now to incline to the interest of France; but ambassadors arriving with large offers from Alphonsus, the successor of Ferdinand, he concluded a treaty of alliance with the new king, and sent his nephew, John Borgin, as legate, who crowned him at Naples. With the assistance of Alphonsus, he now prepared to oppose the pretensions of the king of France, and even solicited the assistance of Bajazet, the emperor of the Turks, against him, by informing him that the king of France, after he had conquered Naples, intended to attack Greece.

Charles, however, entered Italy with an army, where he was joined by Lewis Sforza, who about this time poisoned his nephew, and caused himself to be proclaimed duke. He quickly

made himself master of Romagna and Tuscany, and soon after entered Rome in triumph, where he was entreated by the cardinals to depose the pope. Alexander, however, by his gifts, having acquired friends among the king's counsellors, concluded a treaty with him, by which it was agreed, that till the conquest of Naples, the king should be put in possession of the castles of Civita Vecchia, Terracina, and Spoleto; that the pope should pardon all the cardinals and barons that had adhered to the king; that he should give him the investiture of Naples, and deliver up to him the brother of the grand signior; and lastly, that Cæsar Borgia, cardinal of Valentia, should accompany the king three months as apostolical legate. This treaty being concluded, the pope received the king with great pomp in the church of St. Peter. The sacred college were highly offended with the king, for agreeing to an accommodation with the pope, and eight of the cardinals immediately left Rome. Charles was now informed that Alphonsus had resigned his kingdom to his son Ferdinand. Ferdinand, however, was unable
A. D. 1495. to make any opposition, and retiring to the island of Ischia, left his kingdom to the possession of Charles, who entered Naples on the twenty-second of February.

The pope now concluded a treaty against him with several princes, but Charles returning to France, Ferdinand recovered his kingdom. The emperor, however, threatened to return, and the Venetians, in terror, solicited assistance from England, and from the emperor, who accordingly, entered Lombardy to their assistance, but returned dissatisfied to Germany. The

pope now attacked the territories of the Ursini, but on receiving forty thousand ducats, concluded a peace with them. Soon after the publication of the truce, all Rome was thrown into confusion, by the murder of the duke of Candia, who was assassinated in the streets, by his brother the cardinal of Valentia. The cardinal Borgia was prompted by jealousy to this horrid deed. As he had no inclination to an ecclesiastical life, he was ambitious of possessing that temporal grandeur which his brother enjoyed, and was besides impatient to find that the duke had a greater share in his sister's affections than himself. Both the brothers are said to have been rivalled by the father; who, not being satisfied with his daughter's second marriage, hired false witnesses to prove the impotence of her husband. The pope was afflicted, beyond measure, at the death of his son; and suspecting the cardinal Sforza and the count of Mirandola as guilty of the murder, he caused them both to be apprehended: but, a few days after, discovering the real author, he deplored his misery, with tears, in the consistory; confessed the wickedness of his former life; and nominated several cardinals, by whose advice he solemnly promised to reform the manners of his court. He dropt these good resolutions, however, in a few days, and returned with more eagerness than ever, to the practice of those vices in which he had spent his life. Soon after, he granted the investiture of Naples to Frederick. Being informed that one Savonarola, a Dominican of great authority at Florence, had prevailed with that city to restore the popular government, and had written to the emperor, and to the kings of

England, France, Spain, and Portugal, exhorting them to assist the church, which was corrupted from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, and to pluck up by the authority of a general council, the abomination of desolation which stood in the holy place, he prohibited him from preaching, and cited him to appear at Rome. As the monk refused to go to Rome, he threatened to excommunicate the Florentines, and as their magistrates were at this time desirous of his favour, they ordered the Dominican to be silent. Savonarola obeyed; but several of his companions still continued to reproach the pope, in their sermons, with great freedom. The Franciscans adopted the opposite party, with equal warmth; and the dispute went so far, that one of the Franciscans challenged a Dominican to walk with him into the midst of a fire, in proof of the truth of their doctrines. The challenge being accepted, an immense crowd assembled to see the experiment; but the Dominican being afraid, desired to enter the fire with the consecrated wafer; which being opposed by the Franciscans, and insisted on by Savonarola, served for an excuse to delay the proposed trial. Savonarola, however, lost his reputation with the people, and next day was seized, with two of his companions; and being degraded by the general of their order, they were delivered to the civil magistrate, who ordered them to be put to death.

A. D. 1498. Meanwhile, Lewis XII. succeeded to the crown of France, and laid claim to the dutchy of Milan; and Alexander, being desirous of obtaining some dignity for his son, proposed an alliance between him and Carlotta, the

daughter of the king of Naples, and that the principality of Tarento should be granted to him as her dowry. Frederick rejecting this proposal with disdain, the pope immediately applied to the king of France; and as Carlotta was then at his court, he asked his assistance in concluding the proposed alliance. Lewis being resolved upon an expedition into Italy, and desirous of obtaining a divorce from his present wife, complied readily with the pope's request; accordingly, Cæsar Borgia having resigned the cardinalate, set out for France, with the pope's bull, authorizing an examination of the king's marriage. Arriving at Paris, he was received with great honour by the king, who created him a knight, and duke of Valentinois in Dauphiné, and gave him the command of a body of one hundred horse, with an annual pension of twenty thousand livres. The following year he married Carlotta, a daughter of a peer of France, as the daughter of Frederick had absolutely refused to marry him. A. D. 1499.

The king of France now marched into Italy, and quickly made himself master of the Milanese; Sforza, in a disgraceful manner, abandoning Milan, and flying with his wife, children, and treasure, into Germany. The pope likewise laid hold of this opportunity; and, soliciting the king to fulfil his engagement to the duke of Valentinois, who had come with him from France, Lewis granted him three hundred lances at his own expense, and a body of five thousand Swiss, to be paid by the pope; with which force Alexander proposed to reduce the whole territory of Romagna under the subjection of the Roman see, but, in reality, he intended that country as

a settlement for Cæsar. Borgia proposed at first to make himself master of Imola and Forli, then in the possession of the widow of Jeromimo, nephew of the late pope Sixtus. This woman, with great spirit, made every preparation to oppose him; she repaired the fortifications of her cities, and sent her children to Florence, whither she also repaired to solicit assistance. Her journey being without effect, she sent an embassy to the pope, with a poisoned letter, wrapped up in scarlet cloth, to be delivered into his own hands; and having with great labour, laid all the land round Forli under water, she appeared on the walls in the dress of a soldier, to encourage her men, and gave defiance to the army of Borgia. Her endeavours, however, to defend herself were ineffectual; for the design of her embassy was discovered at Rome, and the inhabitants of Imola and Forli, struck with the fate of Alexandria, which the French army had taken by storm, though garrisoned by five thousand men, surrendered without opposition. Borgia, having again received from Lewis three hundred lances and two thousand foot soldiers, soon after conquered Pesaro and Rimini, and induced the inhabitants of Faenza to surrender, by promising them security in their personal estates, and an allowance of four thousand ducats a year to their lord: however, having taken possession of the place, he sent the lord, who was then only eighteen years of age, to Rome, where he was soon after put to death. About this time also, Cæsar Borgia is said to have poisoned the cardinal of that name. After the conquest of Faenza, Borgia having obtained the title of duke of Romagna, marched against Bo-

A.D. 1500.

logna, but was prevented from attacking it by the desire of the king of France.

In the mean time, a jubilee was celebrated at Rome, but not frequented by any great concourse of pilgrims. About the same time, Lewis Sforza recovered the Milanese, but was soon after seized by the Swiss in his own service, and delivered to the king of France. The kings of France and Spain now agreed to a partition of the kingdom of Naples, which was confirmed by the pope. Frederick was confounded at this agreement, as he had admitted the Spanish troops for the purpose of opposing the French. Leaving a garrison in Capua, he retired in despair to Naples. Capua was soon after taken by storm, and Borgia, who accompanied the French army as lieutenant-general, at the sacking of that city, seized forty of the fairest nuns as his booty. Frederick being informed of the loss of Capua, from his detestation to the king of Spain, resigned his whole kingdom to the French, and went with his family to France, where he was created duke of Anjou, and allowed a yearly pension of thirty thousand ducats. A. D. 1501.

Meanwhile, the affairs of the pope proceeded with their usual prosperity. He made himself master of all the possessions of the Colonnæ and Savelli in the Terra di Roma, which he divided betwixt the Ursina and his son Borgia, to whom Piombino also was obliged to surrender.—Though the king of France was displeased with the conquests of Borgia, he nevertheless gratified the pope in all his demands, and prevailed with the duke of Ferrara to conclude an alliance between his eldest son Alphonsus and Lucretia, the pope's daughter. To secure his possessions

A. D. 1502. from the ambition of Borgia, the duke consented; accordingly, (the pope allowing his daughter a dowry of one hundred thousand ducats in gold, and the value of one hundred and eleven thousand ducats in jewels) she arrived at Ferrara, on the 1st of February, where she was received with great magnificence, and a few days after the apostolick nuncio gave the solemn investiture of Ferrara to Alphonsus, and created him a knight of St. Peter.

The duke of Romagna had now excited the city of Arezzo to revolt; and this enterprise succeeding to his wish, he left Rome, and surprised Cagli, a city of the duke of Urbino, whose dutchy he quickly made himself master of, although the duke, a few weeks before, had accommodated with the pope all his differences about the tribute. After this conquest, he seized some places belonging to the lord of Camerino, whom, with his two sons, he ordered to be strangled. The king of France now promised to check the ambition of Borgia, but, by the intrigues of the pope, when the king arrived at Milan, Borgia was received with caresses. But a confederacy was soon after formed against him by the Ursini and several other lords, who withdrew their troops from his army, and entered into a league for their mutual defence. Borgia was greatly alarmed at this confederacy, as their troops were more numerous than his: however, with his usual good fortune, he prevailed upon the Ursini, even after they had gained some advantages over him, to consent to a seperate peace. The duke of Urbino, and the lord of Camerino, immediately fled, one to Venice, and the other to Naples; and Borgia, soon after, made himself master of

Fano and Sinigaglia, into which last city he enticed Paul Ursino, with the duke of Gravina, Vitellozzo, Vitelli, and Oliverotto of Fermo, three other chiefs of the late confederacy, two of whom, next day, he ordered to be strangled.

The pope, in the mean time, with intention, as it was believed, of raising money for his son, proposed a general crusade against the Turks; for which purpose he sent nuncios into the different kingdoms of Europe, but with little or no success; his infamous character rendering all his proposals suspicious. However, he still succeeded in deceiving the Italian princes. Upon being informed of the tragedy at Sinigaglia, he imprisoned the cardinal Ursino in the castle of Saint Angelo, and sent his youngest son, the prince of Squillaci, to take possession of the territories belonging to that family, and the other confederate lords. The cardinal dying (as was supposed by poison) after twenty days imprisonment, Borgia immediately ordered the other two lords to be put to death at Sinigaglia, and marching thence in the end of January, made himself master of Citta di Castello and Perugia; then desiring an opportunity to seize Simna, he ordered the inhabitants to banish their lord Pandolpho Petrucci, as his enemy. Pandolpho was accordingly banished; but, the king of France interposing, Borgia was obliged to desist from that enterprise. However, he took possession of the territories of the Savelli, and several of the strong places belonging to the Ursini, even against the command of the king of France.

Borgia now formed the design of making a conquest of Tuscany; and to provide money

for that expedition, formed a design, with the concurrence of his father, to poison all the rich cardinals, and to seize their revenues and estates; but by the mistake of a servant, the plot proved fatal to the contrivers. Authors differ a little, though not materially, in the relation of this fact. According to Guicciardini, Borgia sent a present of some flasks of poisoned wine to the cardinal of Corneto, in whose garden they proposed to sup, but ordered the servant to give none of it to any person. Alexander soon after coming into the garden, and calling for some wine before supper, the servant gave him some from the poisoned flasks, thinking the prohibition could not extend to the pope, however valuable and rare the wine might be; and Borgia, in the mean time appearing, unsuspiciously drank of the same wine with his father. They both immediately felt the symptoms, of the poison, and Alexander died the next day, being the 18th of August; but Borgia, having drank his wine much diluted, by the assistance of antidotes recovered, after a long illness, in which he lost both his skin and his hair*.

A. D. 1503.

Though the death of Alexander gave great joy to the Romans and to all Italy, yet Rome itself was now a scene of tumult and confusion. At last, Pius III. was elected, but died soon after of poison. Julian de la Rovere, nephew of Sixtus IV. and cardinal bishop of Ostia, at the death of Alexander, was a candidate for the pontificate; and reflecting on the infirm health of Pius, he

* This fact is doubtful; as Guicciardini is proverbial in Italy, for his hatred against Alexander VI.

still continued to solicit the interest of the cardinals. Though he was of a bold and impetuous spirit, had spent his life in continual travels, and was at enmity with several great men, yet, as he was accounted liberal and faithful to his word, and had amassed great wealth, he quickly made many friends, especially by his extravagant promises of overturning every foreign domination in Italy, and by a distribution of the money which, from an opinion of his punctuality, was presented to him by the citizens of Rome. He procured the interest of the Spanish cardinals, partly by Borgia's means, whom he promised to confirm general of the church, and to conclude an alliance betwixt his daughter and his own nephew, prefect of Rome; so that the whole sacred college had so unanimously fixed upon him, that on the 9th of October, when they entered the conclave, he was declared pope before the doors were shut. He was crowned on the 24th of November, and assumed the name of Julius II. As he had resolved to recover the ecclesiastical state, he behaved with great respect to Borgia, to whom a few places in Romagna still continued faithful. But to the dominion of this country, the Venetians now aspired; Julius, therefore, appointed Borgia to oppose them, but before his departure, he desired him to surrender those places to him, that the Venetians might have no pretence for attacking them, as not constituting part of the patrimony of the church. Borgia refusing this demand, Julius ordered him to be apprehended on board his galley at Ostia, and soon after, obtained from him a resignation of his right. A. D. 1504.

Borgia, however, soon after escaped, and went to Naples to the Spanish general, who at first

treated him with great honour and respect; but soon after, in consequence of an order from Ferdinand, he sent him on board a galley to Spain, where he was committed to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Medina. Three years afterwards, having bribed his guards, he was let down from the castle wall, and escaped to the king of Navarre, whose sister he had married. He was there soon after slain in a skirmish against the Cantabrians, who stripped his corpse, which was afterwards interred at Pampeluna.

The Venetians were now forced to resign their conquests in Romagna to the pope, who marched from Rome, and made himself master of Perugia and Bologna. He also entered into an alliance, which we shall notice in the proper place, under the name of the League of Cambray, with the kings of Arragon, Spain, France, and the emperor, against them, when they earnestly solicited him to a reconciliation; but a rupture taking place between him and the French king, he was soon after reconciled to them, and threatened the duke of Ferrara for his adherence to France. Against the nation he now declared war, and while Lewis was asking advice of the Gallican clergy, Julius took possession of Mirandola. The French general, however, soon after retook Bologna; and the pope's army invading the dutchy of Ferrara, was forced to retire before him, and afterwards completely defeated at Ravenna. In the mean time, several cardinals deserted the cause of Julius, and held a council at Pisa, for the purpose of reforming the church, both in the head and members. The pope, therefore, published a bull for a general council to be held at Rome, and solicited them to return, but they persisted in

refusing his offer. However, a great revolution soon took place in his favour: part of the French troops being obliged to return, the rest were expelled from Italy, and Maximilian Sforza put in possession of the dutchy of Milan. Italy at last enjoyed peace, and while Julius was forming new designs to disturb its tranquillity, he died at Rome, and was succeeded by Leo X. son of the famous Lorenzo de Medici and Clarissa Ursini. A. D. 1513.

Leo restored the schismatick cardinals to their dignities, and was acknowledged by the king of France, whom he endeavoured to reconcile to the Swiss. He formed a design of seizing Naples, and granted indulgences for defraying the expense of a war against the Turks. Francis I. now succeeding to the crown of France, and recovering the Milanese, Leo concluded a treaty with him. The emperor also entered Italy with a formidable army, for the purpose of seizing the Milanese, but, from want of money, was obliged to return to Germany. Leo, at this time, seized upon the dutchy of Urbino, and a conspiracy was formed against him by the cardinal of Sienna; but the plot was discovered; the cardinal of Sienna, with several others, put to death; and two other cardinals degraded.

The temporal power of the pope was now raised higher than it had ever been before, and his spiritual authority was quietly submitted to by all Europe. However, this same year, the papal usurpations met with such opposition in Germany, as not only put a stop to their further progress, but gave them such a blow, that they have ever since been declining. The court of Rome, by its insatiable A. D. 1517.

avarice, was itself instrumental in promoting this grand revolution; for the Dominicans, who had received the commission to publish indulgences in Germany, conducted themselves most indiscreetly; they printed several books, extolling the power of their absolutions, to which they gave the name of Grand Pardons; and, for certain rates, set down in a tariff which had been given them, they not only absolved the living from all their sins, but delivered the souls of the dead from the pretended pains of purgatory. They likewise sold the liberty of eating flesh, eggs, milk, and cheese, upon prohibited days, and publicly squandered a great part of the money in taverns, where they frequently staked their absolutions at a game of table. This proceeding occasioned great murmuring over all Germany; and John Stanpitz, vicar-general of the Augustines, offended, as it is said, that his order had not been employed, as was usual, in disposing of the indulgences, preached against them with great warmth at Wittenburgh, where he was assisted by Martin Luther, a monk of his order, and professor in that university. He not only exerted himself, in his discourses, against the indulgences, but likewise wrote to the archbishop of Mentz, complaining of the proceedings of the Dominicans; and on the last day of October, published ninety-five propositions or theses against indulgences, penance, purgatory, and the authority of the pope.

Leo, in the mean time, was much alarmed by the progress of the grand signior Selim, who the year before had conquered Egypt, and put an end to the government of the Mamelukes. As he was a prince of great ambition, and had now

no enemy in Asia, Leo was apprehensive that he would turn his victorious arms against Italy; he therefore caused devout processions to be made at Rome, and walked himself barefooted, with all his court, from the Vatican to the church of Minerva. He then wrote to all the Christian princes exhorting them to assist him; but Selim remaining inactive, the princes, upon various pretences, refused to exert themselves.

Luther, judging that his adversaries were endeavouring to defame him, had, in the month of June, submissively written to the pope, in his own justification, promising all obedience to the apostolick see, and declaring that he had published his theses only with the intention of disputing in a scholastick manner. Leo now cited him to appear at Rome; however, at the intercession of the duke of Saxony, he consented that his cause should be tried at Augsburgh. Luther having obtained a safe conduct from the emperor, appeared before cardinal Cajetan about the middle of October, and had several conferences with him; but, the legate insisting absolutely upon his recantation, and refusing to enter into any dispute, Luther declared that he would not retract the doctrines which he had preached and written, unless convicted of their error; but as he was a man, and therefore fallible, he submitted his opinion to the decision of the church, and to the universities of Germany, but particularly to that of Paris. As he was then threatened by the legate, he privately left Augsburgh; but, before his departure, he caused an appeal to the pope to be fixed up in the principal places of the city. Cajetan immediately wrote to Rome, complaining of Luther's

A. D. 1518.

obstinacy, and sent a letter to the duke of Saxony to banish him from his dominions. At the same time, Luther wrote a submissive letter to the pope, complaining of Cajetan; and, being informed that his appeal was rejected, he again appealed from the pope, who, like other men, was fallible, to a future general council.

Leo now published a new bull, confirming his indulgences, in which he affirmed, that all ought to believe that the bishop of Rome had a power of forgiving sins. Soon after, he sent a golden rose to the duke of Saxony, and solicited his counsellors to persuade him to withdraw his protection from Luther. But the elector, upon the death of the emperor, assuming by his constitutional right of vicar, the government of great part of the empire, Luther's authority increased, and he began to be looked upon as a man sent from God, to remedy the abuses and disorders of the Roman church. The elector refused to accept of the rose; however, the nuncio who was a German, prevailed upon Luther to write in a submissive manner to Rome, and to submit his cause to the judgment of a German bishop. Luther accordingly wrote in terms very respectful to the pope, but added that he would not retract his opinions, unless they were proved to him to be erroneous. He afterwards refused to submit to the decision of the archbishop of Triers, as he heard that cardinal Cajetan was to be present at the conferences, and that the pope had not authorized the archbishop to give a final determination. However, he consented to a publick dispute with Eckius at Leipsick, a city under the dominion of George, duke of Saxony, cousin of the elector Frederick, whither he repaired with Caro-

lostadt and Philip Melancthon, who, the year before, had been appointed Greek professor at Wittemberg. The dispute continued for several days, each party claiming the victory; but the universities of Cologne, Louvaine, and Paris, which last had been chosen as judge of the disputation, decided in favour of Eckius. A. D. 1519.

During these proceedings, Charles of Austria, king of Spain, was elected emperor. Meanwhile, the favourers of Luther not only increased in the empire, but his doctrines began to be attended to in Italy. The king of Denmark publicly approved of his proceedings; and Laurence and Olaus Petri, two brothers who had studied at Wittemberg, published his doctrines in Sweden, where they were favourably received. It appears, likewise, from the letters of Erasmus to him and the duke of Saxony, that his opinions were well received in England and Flanders. While his doctrines thus engaged the attention of great part of Europe, Alrick Zuinglius, born in the canton of Glavitz, preached against the abuses of the Roman church in Switzerland, without having any correspondence with Luther, from whom he differed in some points of his new doctrine. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the bishop of Constance, the magistrates of Zurich approved of the proceedings of Zuinglius, and that whole canton, with those of Bern, Basil, and Schaffhausen, embraced his opinions.

Luther, in the mean time, being assured of the protection of the duke of Saxony, and other princes of the empire, published a treatise on Christian liberty, which he sent to Rome, with a letter addressed to the pope, in which he declared, that

he had no other design than the glory of God, and the discovery of truth, the profession of which he would never forsake. Luther was, soon after, excommunicated by the pope. But resolving, at all hazards, to defend the propositions which he had advanced, he immediately published a book against the church of Rome, exhorting the German nation to shake off its authority, and to oblige the pope and bishops to submit to the emperor. He likewise renewed his appeal to a future council; and, as his books had been burned at Rome, Cologne, and Louvaine, he in return erected a pile of wood without the walls of Wittemberg, where, in the presence of almost the whole city, and a great many doctors, he set fire to the wood, and threw the Roman decretals and the pope's bull into the flames.

A. D. 1521.

A few weeks after, the pope celebrated a diet at Worms, which was opened on the 6th of January. The emperor, having granted his safe conduct to Luther, he arrived at that city on the 16th of April, where he again absolutely refused to retract his opinions, unless he was convinced by reason or scripture, that they were erroneous.

The elector of Treves advised him, at a private conference, to think of some remedy for the present disorders: but he still continuing in his sentiments, the emperor ordered him to leave Worms, and granted him a safe-conduct for twenty-one days. After his departure, he put him to the ban of the empire, by an edict published on the 8th of May, by which, after accusing him of heresy, he confirmed the pope's bull against him and his followers, prohibited all persons from affording him any protection, and or-

dered him to be seized and imprisoned after the expiration of the time prescribed in his safe-conduct. All his books were likewise prohibited, and ordered to be burned. Leo also renewed his excommunication against him, and denounced the same sentence against all who favoured or protected him: he likewise held frequent consistories at Rome, to consult of means to oppose him; and, having received a book from Henry VIII. king of England, in defence of the doctrines of the Roman church impugned by Luther, he conferred on that prince the title of Defender of the Faith. Leo now also entered into an alliance with the king of England, and the new emperor against the king of France: and, soon after, sending troops to the Milanese, he quickly made himself master of Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Parma, and Placentia. But in the midst of these conquests, he was cut off by a sudden death, which was believed to be the effect of poison, administered to him by Barnabas Malaspina, gentleman of his bedchamber, who, on that suspicion, was imprisoned, but afterwards set at liberty by the cardinal of Medici, who suppressed all examination on that affair. A. D. 1521.

Adrian VI. succeeded him. Meanwhile, Luther was zealous in promoting the reformation. Upon his return from Worms, the elector of Saxony, to protect him from the consequence of the ban, had ordered a troop of masked horsemen to meet him on the road, and to conduct him to the castle of Wartburgh, in which solitude he continued near ten months, neither his friends nor his enemies at first knowing what was become of him. There he published several

books establishing his new doctrines; but, being informed that Carolostadt was making himself the chief of a party at Wittemberg, and had excited the young people to destroy the altars, and pull down the images and the crucifixes; he left Wartburgh, in the beginning of March, without leave of the elector, and again appeared in public. He blamed the proceedings of Carolostadt; and, soon after, published a translation of the Bible, which not being conformable to the vulgate, and wanting several canonical books, was prohibited by several princes.

A.D. 1512.

In the mean time, Adrian sent a legate to the diet of Nuremberg, demanding of them that they would put in execution the bull of his predecessor against Luther, and grant assistance to the knights of Rhodes against the Turks. Neither the pope nor the Christian princes having exerted themselves, in earnest, in defence of that city, it was obliged to surrender to the soldan, after a siege of seven months; and, on the first of January, the grand-master, with all the knights, quitted the island and sailed for Crete. At this time Luther having procured a copy of the pope's letter to the diet, translated it into the German language; and Adrian, having confessed there was great need of reformation, but that they ought to proceed step by step, Luther in his notes added, that the popes had hitherto taken a hundred years between each step to reform any grievances. The diet, likewise, declared to the nuncio, that it was impossible to put the edict against the Lutherans in execution, without hazarding a civil war, as the people, by the books lately published, were now

A.D. 1523.

well instructed in the oppressions of the court of Rome. Notwithstanding the opposition of the legate, they also drew up a memorial, which they entitled *Centum Gravamina*, or, the Hundred Grievances; and, on the 6th of March, they published an edict, prohibiting the preachers to discourse on any subject tending to disturb the publick peace; which, with the memorial, the pope's brief, and their answer to the legate, they sent over all Germany, and even to Rome, where the ingenious confession of the pope, that his court and clergy were the original source of the evil, gave great offence to the prelates. Soon after, Adrian died at Rome. His death, which was suspected to be the effect of poison, gave great joy to the Romans, who were offended with his sobriety and regular manners, having been debauched by the luxury introduced by his predecessor Leo.

The cardinal de Medici succeeded him, by the name of Clement VII. and sent a legate to the diet of Nuremberg, complaining that the ban published against the Lutherans was not put in execution; but the princes replying that the most proper means to restore the publick peace, would be immediately to redress the grievances they complained of, he declared that he had seen a copy of the *Centum Gravamina* at Rome, which neither pope nor cardinals believed to have been published by order of the Germanick body, as it contained many things derogatory to the authority of the apostolick see, on which articles he had no commission to treat, but that he was willing to regulate, with their concurrence, other matters tending to reform the abuses in Germany. He accordingly drew up a form of

reformation, which was rejected by the princes, as it regarded only the inferior clergy, and tended, in the main, to enlarge the pope's authority, and that of the ecclesiastick princes of the empire, to the prejudice of the lay princes. A league, however, was now formed, between the archduke Ferdinand, the two dukes of Bavaria, the archbishop of Saltzburgh, the bishops of Trent and Ratisbon, with the deputies of nine other bishops, for the support of the religion of the church of Rome. On the other hand, the deputies of the states that had embraced Luther's doctrines assembled in the same month at Spire, where they ordered all the controverted articles of religion to be collected by their own divines, with the intention of presenting them at the following diet, to be held in the same city, in the month of November. This diet, however, was never assembled, for the pope having written to the emperor, complaining of the proceeding of the diet of Nuremberg; Charles, who had great need of Clement's assistance against the French in Italy, wrote from Burgos, in Spain, to the German princes, annulling the diet of Nuremberg, and prohibiting the assembling of the diet of Spire.

A. D. 1524.

Notwithstanding this declaration of the emperor in favour of the papal authority, Clement still refused to join the alliance against France; however, he secretly granted seventy thousand ducats to the duke of Bourbon, the commander of the Imperialists; who, receiving a reinforcement of six thousand Germans, expelled the French from Italy, and laid siege to Marseilles; but Francis I. marching to the relief of that city, he was obliged to retreat with precipitation into

Lombardy. Francis pursued him with his army over the Alps, and, recovering Milan and several other towns, concluded a treaty with the pope. But this treaty was fatal to them both: for the Imperialists having received several reinforcements from Germany, attacked the French army, weakened by a detachment to the siege of Naples, and after a fierce engagement of some hours, entirely defeated them, and took the king of France, with many nobles and officers. A. D. 1525.

This year, a jubilee was celebrated at Rome, but, by the diffusion of Luther's doctrines, indulgences had greatly sunk in their value, so that few strangers appeared in that city. Clement now sought an accommodation with the emperor, but his offers being rejected, he entered into a confederacy against him, with the marquis of Pescara, the Venetians, the duke of Milan, and the king of France. The Imperialists, however, were not only successful in Lombardy, but by the assistance of the family of Colonna they surprised the pope in Rome, and obliged him to agree to a truce with the emperor for four months, to forgive the outrage, and to recal his troops from the Milanese. But the Neapolitan troops had no sooner retired from Rome, than Clement, refusing to fulfil the articles which he had been compelled to subscribe, deposed the cardinal of Colonna, declared all his family rebels, and, sending a considerable body of troops into their territories, plundered and burned a great many of their towns. The cardinal of Colonna, in the mean time, residing at Naples, appealed to a future general council, and caused writings to be fixed to the church doors of Rome,

citing the pope, in the name of the emperor, to appear at Spire, before a general council. A general diet of the empire had been held in that city, in the months of July and August, in which the party of the Lutherans appeared more powerful than ever; and it was agreed, that, till the celebration of a general council, each prince should so govern his subjects, as he should be able to give an account to God and the emperor. Thus, liberty of conscience was allowed to the Lutherans in Germany.

A. D. 1525.

The emperor, being greatly exasperated against the pope, for absolving the king of France from his obligations to observe the treaty of Madrid, by which he had obtained his freedom, appealed to a general council, which he insisted upon being immediately convoked. In the mean time, continual succours arrived in Lombardy from Spain and Germany, and the viceroy of Naples returned from Spain with a strong reinforcement. The pope, having received a subsidy of thirty thousand crowns from the king of England, at first paid little regard to the emperor's remonstrances; but not being able to bear the expense of the war, as he received very little assistance from the king of France, and as the Imperialists were every day growing more powerful, both in Naples and Lombardy, he agreed to a truce of eight months with the viceroy of Naples, in consequence of which, the conquered places on both sides were immediately restored.

The pope, by this truce, promised to pay Bourbon sixty thousand ducats, on condition that he withdrew his army from the ecclesi-

astical state, and the territories of Florence, and, as he had restored the towns in the kingdom of Naples, he, in full assurance of a peace, immediately dismissed the greatest part of his troops. The duke of Bourbon, who had already advanced to the Bolognese, refused his consent to the truce, notwithstanding the viceroy had come to his camp, and had offered to cause one hundred and forty thousand ducats to be paid to him within two months. As his troops had already mutinied twice, and allowed him only the shadow of command, on their calling out, in a tumultuous manner, "To Rome, To Rome," partly from inclination, partly from constraint, he submitted to their impetuosity; and, as there was no army to interrupt him, and as he was not incumbered with baggage or artillery, he arrived before Rome on the 5th of May, and demanded a passage through that city to Naples. His demand being refused, next morning he assaulted the city; and, though he himself was slain, in the beginning of the attack, while bravely planting, with his own hands, a scaling ladder against the walls, yet his troops with ardour pushing on to the assault, about sun-set, carried the place by storm, and while the pope and cardinals fled to the castle of St. Angelo, they employed themselves in every violence and barbarity. The sacking continued for several days; the Lutherans discharged their fury against the church of St. Peter and the tombs of the popes, and dragging the bodies of the saints from their shrines, trampled them under their feet, while the more rapacious Spaniards and Italians tortured the nobles, prelates, and magistrates, to oblige them to pay exces-

A. D. 1527.

sive ransoms. As the duke of Urbino, though at the head of a numerous army, delayed advancing to the relief of Rome, the pope was obliged to capitulate with the prince of Orange, who, upon the death of Bourbon, succeeded to the chief command. It was agreed that the pope should immediately pay one hundred thousand ducats, and three hundred thousand more within two months; that he should put into the hands of the emperor, the castle of St. Angelo, Civita Vecchia, Citta Castellana, Parma, Placenza, and Modena; and that, upon paying the first one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, he should be conducted, with the cardinals, to Gaeta, or Naples; but till that payment, he should remain a prisoner. Upon these, and some other conditions, provisions were carried into the castle, where he continued six months longer a prisoner, not having money to complete the first payment. Meanwhile, the plague raged with violence at Rome, by which great numbers of the Imperialists daily perished. The Florentines, upon the news of the pope's calamity, expelled Hippolito and Alexander de Medici from their city, of which they had already usurped the sovereignty, and, creating a Gonfalonier, restored the ancient republican government. They likewise broke the statues of Leo X. and of Clement, and persecuted all those who favoured that family. The emperor being informed of the great success of his arms in Italy, dissembled his joy, even put on mourning, and ordered processions and publick prayers, to implore the assistance of heaven for the distressed church. However, his actions did not correspond with these professions; for, to draw all the advantages he could

from the pope's distress, he delayed giving any orders to set him at liberty, though the plague was then very mortal, not only in the city of Rome, but even in the castle at St. Angelo. Some months afterwards, however, Charles, being informed of the conquests of the French in the kingdom of Naples, under Lautreck, immediately sent deputies to Rome, to negociate with the pope, with whom they concluded a treaty much to the advantage of the emperor; but the conditions being such that it was impossible for the pope to fulfil them, by the assistance of cardinal Colonna, to whom he was now reconciled, he escaped, on the 9th December, from the castle, and was conducted to Orvieto.

Clement soon after received an ambassador from the king of England, desiring him to declare his marriage with the queen Katherine null, which the divines and lawyers of England had already affirmed to be unlawful; and, on being repeatedly urged by the English ambassadors, he named his cardinals, Wolsey and Campegio, to decide the affair, to the last of whom he gave a bull annulling the marriage, with leave to show it to the king and Wolsey, but with express orders not to give sentence till he should receive a second mandate from Rome. These dilatory proceedings of the pope were owing to the unexpected success of the emperor's affairs in Italy; on which account, Clement began to think of attaching himself to him, in order to obtain the dominion of Florence. He soon after formed a treaty with the emperor, and refused to authorize the divorce. In the mean time, the states of Germany had assembled at Spire, and published a decree, revoking their

former edict, which allowed liberty of conscience. Several princes, and the deputies of fourteen imperial cities, protested against this edict, whence the name of protestants was given to all those sects in Germany that opposed the doctrines of the Roman church. The emperor having ordered them to obey the edict, A. D. 1529. under pain of his displeasure, they assembled, in the end of November, at Smalcalde, where they proposed to enter into an alliance for their mutual defence.

In the beginning of the same month, Charles had a conference with the pope at Bologna, where he received from him the imperial crown. Alexander de Medici, the nephew of the pope, was, soon after, declared sovereign of Florence. The emperor now entered into a league for the defence of the old religion, and prohibited any other, but liberty of conscience was, soon after, granted to the protestants. The emperor again entering Italy, renewed his alliance with the pope; who, hearing that Henry VIII. had divorced his queen, and publicly married Anne Bullen, contrary to his prohibition, laid him under an interdict, and threatened to excite all Christendom against him. About the same time, he sent nuncios into Scotland to oppose the progress of Lutheranism, and soon after, he excommunicated the king of England, who thereupon, declared himself head of the church in England, and refused the payment of the annual tribute to Rome, commonly called St. Peter's pence. Clement survived this sentence A. D. 1534. but a few months, and died at Rome, on the twenty-fifth of September, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

Cardinal Farnese was chosen his successor, and assuming the name of Paul III. was solemnly crowned on the second of November, to the great joy of the Romans, who had again got a pope of their own nation, after an interval of a hundred and three years. This pope assisted the emperor in his expedition against Barbarossa, the pirate, and having fitted out thirteen gallies, went to Civitta Vecchia, where he gave his benediction to the whole armament. Being informed that Henry VIII. of England, had seized the revenues of three hundred and seventy-six monasteries; had obliged upwards of ten thousand monks and nuns to resume the long habit; and had executed Thomas More, his late chancellor, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, because they had refused to acknowledge the king as supreme head of the church, he excommunicated and deposed him, absolving his subjects from their obedience, and prohibiting all catholicks from holding any commerce with the English. He likewise ordered all the clergy to quit his dominions, the nobles to take up arms against him, and absolved foreign princes, who were in alliance with him, from the obligation of their treaties. This bull, which was published on the twenty-eighth of November, he ordered to be fixed up in several places on the opposite shore of Holland. A. D. 1536.

Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, dying in October without heirs, the Milanese again became the subject of dispute between the king of France and the emperor, at whose entreaty the pope now published a bull for a general council. Soon after he sent cardinal Pole, a relation of

Henry VIII. as his legate to the king of France, to excite him and James V. of Scotland, who was then at Paris, against the king of England. But Henry being informed that the cardinal intended to raise an army in France to invade his kingdom, desired of the French king to deliver him up as his subject, and set a price of fifty thousand crowns upon his head, which obliged the pope to recal him to Rome, and to appoint him a guard of soldiers for his protection. A league was now formed by the catholick princes of Germany for the defence of their religion. A similar league was entered into by the protes-

A. D. 1538. tants at Brunswick, where they received into their alliance Christiern, king of Denmark, who, a few months before, had entirely renounced the authority of the pope in his dominions, and had been solemnly crowned by Burgenhagius, a Lutheran minister, sent thither at his desire by Luther.

In the mean time, Paul concluded an alliance with the Venetians and the emperor, against the Turks, with such assurance of success, that he even made a partition of the Turkish empire with his allies. In consequence of this alliance, a numerous fleet assembled at Corcyra; but, instead of making conquests, though superior in force to the enemy, they twice declined an engagement, and were pursued by Barbarossa, who took and sunk several of their ships. Paul now had a conference with the emperor and the French king at Nice, in Piedmont, and prevailed with them to agree to a truce for ten years. A truce was also agreed to between the protestants and catholicks in a diet held at Frankfort, for

which the emperor was blamed by the pope. Soon after this, his holiness confirmed the order of the Jesuits; but, as the great multitude of monks began now to be a nuisance even at Rome, he restricted the number of the professed in the new order to sixty. About this time also a publick disputation took place between the catholicks and the protestants, and continued for two months without any appearance of agreement. In the following year, the pope determined to celebrate a council in Trent, on the confines of Germany, as the protestants had objected to a city in Italy, and, as he himself, being loaded with years and infirmities, could not bear the fatigue of a journey into Germany. The protestants, however, refused to appear even at Trent. A. D. 1542.

CHAP. IX.

The Popes continued till the Absolution of Henry IV.

A. D. 1543. PAUL now appointed a congregation of six cardinals, at Rome, who should act with full power as inquisitors of the faith; excited the emperor to declare war against the protestants, who still refused to acknowledge the council of Trent; and excommunicated and deposed the archbishop of Cologne, for having favoured them. The emperor, soon after, made preparations for war, obliged the elector Palatine and the duke of Wirtemberg to submit, and, in the following year, entirely defeated the protestants at Muhlberg. The same year, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the pope to establish the inquisition at Naples, and, during the disturbances which it occasioned in that city, Paul was alarmed with the news of the murder of his son Peter Lewis; who, having formerly obtained from him the dukedom of Parma, and having rendered himself odious by his infamous vices, was assassinated in his palace at Placentia. This city was immediately seized by Ferdinand Gonzaga, the emperor's lieutenant in Lombardy; a circumstance which raised a great suspicion that Charles himself was conscious of the murder. The pope now proposed an alliance with the king of France, and solicited it with the greater earnestness since the murder of his son, and the seizing of Placentia. Meanwhile, a new plan of reformation was

drawn up by the emperor's order, but condemned both by papists and protestants. The pope also sent nuncios into Germany, with the power of reforming abuses, and solicited from the emperor the restoration of Placentia; but, finding that his solicitations had no effect, he began to think of restoring Parma to the church, and of giving his grandson Octavius another territory. He accordingly appointed Camillo Ursini governor of Parma; but his grandson refused to accept of any other territory, and privately left Rome, with the intention of taking possession of that city. Being frustrated in his attempt to surprise the place, he wrote to his brother, cardinal Farnese, declaring, that if his grandfather would not restore the city, he would treat with the emperor's lieutenant, Gonzaga. This letter, being read to the pope, had such an effect upon him, that he immediately fainted, and, reviving with much difficulty, in a few hours after, was seized with a violent fever, of which he died on the third day, and was succeeded by Julius III.

Dissentions now again took place in Lombardy; which threatened to interrupt the peace of Italy. Octavius Farnese, afraid of the designs of Gonzaga, had introduced a French garrison into Parma, and that city was consequently invested by the emperor's troops. The pope preserved a neutrality, and endeavoured in vain to reconcile the emperor and the king. Julius dying at Rome, was succeeded by Marcellus II. and he, a few days after, by Paul IV. who received the submission of the English ambassadors, and condemned the toleration granted to the protestants of Germany. Paul vigorously opposed the interests of the emperor, and per-

suaded the king of France to violate his truce with him, but was obliged to consent to a peace with the viceroy of Naples. He recalled cardinal Pole from his legation in England, and refused to acknowledge the right of queen Elizabeth to the throne of that kingdom: he refused also to acknowledge Ferdinand as emperor of Germany; but, applying all his mind to the office of the inquisition, he ordered a box to be fixed in a publick place of his palace, into which all persons were at liberty to put informations and accusations; and he commanded all causes belonging to the holy office to be tried before himself once a week. About the same time, he published a bull, by which he renewed all the punishments against hereticks, which had ever been decreed by former popes, declaring all prelates, emperors, kings, and princes, convicted of heresy, to be thereby, without any farther declaration, deprived of their benefices, empires, kingdoms, and principalities. He likewise ordered all bishops to proceed to their own dioceses, and all those who had embraced a monastick life, to return to their monasteries, admitting of no excuse in these last, but denouncing an anathema against those who should disobey; and executing his mandate with such rigour in his own territories, that many of the vagrant monks were imprisoned, and several of them sent to the gallies. Paul did not long survive the news of the revolution of religion in England, but died, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, exhorting the cardinals, whom he called into his chamber, to unite in choosing a worthy successor, and recommending to them the continuance of the inquisition.

A. D. 1559.

Scarce any pope had ever acted with more arrogance and despotism. His intentions were sincere, but there was a savage ferocity in his manners, that rendered him universally hated; so that, even while he lay expiring, the Romans tumultuously assembled, cursed his name and family, and, after giving liberty to the prisoners, set fire to the new inquisition. He was no sooner dead, than they ran to the capitol, broke off the head and the right hand of his statue, which they tossed about the streets for three days, and at length threw into the Tiber; and an edict being published in the name of the Roman people, for abolishing the arms of the Caraffa family, it was executed with such dispatch, that the same day there was no memorial of that name left in the city.

Pius IV. now succeeded to the papal chair. He imprisoned the nephews of the late pope in the castle of St. Angelo, where, after long confinement, they were executed on account of their enormous crimes, though no legal form of proceeding was observed at their trials. Cardinal Alphonso, the grand-nephew of the late pope, happening to be in his archiepiscopal see of Naples, was only fined; but several other cardinals were likewise thrown into prison, and deprived of rich bishopricks. He persuaded the duke of Savoy that hereticks were more easily refuted by the sword than by the conferences, and so brought on a war in the vallies, which continued for a long time. He determined also to renew the council of Trent: but his nuncios every where met with a bad reception: upon their addressing Frederick, king of Denmark, who two years before had succeeded to the throne, he replied,

that, as neither he nor his father had ever any concern with the pope, he knew no business his nuncio could have with him. The nuncio to the queen of Scotland was obliged to enter that kingdom in disguise, and Elizabeth absolutely refused to permit one of them to enter England. Meanwhile, the Hugonots in France obtained the free exercise of their religion. At this time also, Pius offended the king of Spain; the French ambassadors exclaimed against the papal usurpations; and the imperial ambassadors presented the grievances of the Germanick body. Meanwhile, the council of Trent entirely abolished the name and office of questors, a kind of spiritual tax-gatherers, who dressed themselves in strange habits, and, assembling the people with little hand-bells, extorted money from them under pretence of alms, and contributions for pious works, thundering out curses and anathemas against those who refused to buy their indulgences. They appropriated the money they raised to their own use, after having given part of it to the officers at Rome, who had procured them permission to raise the contributions. The pope now proposed to transfer the council to Bologna; and deposed several French bishops on suspicion of heresy. On that acount, likewise, he cited the queen of Navarre to appear at Rome, and, soon after, was dissolved the council of Trent, which had only served the purpose of being an object of ridicule to the protestants.

A. D. 1563.

Pius now received an embassy from Maximilian, king of the Romans, informing him of his election, and offering to the pope and apostolick see, devotion and reverence, but not obedi-

ence. With difficulty, therefore, the ambassadors obtained an audience, and though, when admitted to a publick consistory, he adhered to his instructions, the cardinals nevertheless gave the usual answer, that his holiness received the obedience of the king, and confirmed his election. Meanwhile, in Germany, France, Spain, and Poland, and even in some parts of Italy, objections were made to the proceedings of the council of Trent; and soon after the pope was alarmed with the discovery of a conspiracy against himself; several enthusiasts, under pretence of a revelation from heaven, having formed a design to murder him, in order to facilitate a general reformation, which they said was to be accomplished by his successor, who was to convert the whole world to Christianity. The conspirators being apprehended, were all put to death by torture. In the following year, Pius died of a surfeit at Rome, on the tenth of December, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the sixth of his pontificate. A. D. 1565.

On the eighth of January, in the following year, Pius V. was elected. He published several decrees for promoting a reformation, and the famous *bulla cœna domini;* but hearing of the violent proceedings of the Calvinists in Scotland, some of whom had murdered David Rizio, in the queen's presence, he wrote to the popish princes to send her assistance, ordered a nuncio to reside in that kingdom, and granted her a subsidy of twenty thousand crowns. He also sent troops against the Hugonots in France, and in conjunction with Philip II. of Spain, excited a rebellion against queen Elizabeth of England. He likewise conferred the title of grand duke of

Tuscany on Cosmo de Medici. Meanwhile, the Turks conquered Cyprus, but their fleet was
A. D. 1572. soon after entirely defeated by that of the Christians. In the following year Pius died at Rome, much lamented, and was succeeded by Gregory XIII.

This pope prosecuted the war against the Turks, which his predecessor had begun. Being informed of the massacre of the protestants at Paris, he publicly expressed his joy on the occasion. Three years after, a jubilee was celebrated at Rome, commencing, according to custom, on Christmas-eve, when the pope, with his golden mallet, opened the holy gate of the Vatican church, where there were said to be no less than three hundred thousand pilgrims waiting for the ceremony. During the whole holy year there were upwards of one hundred thousand foreigners at Rome; which, by the care of the pope, abounded with all sorts of provisions. Soon after, he composed dissentions which had arisen in Genoa, and his mediation was desired between different potentates of Europe. At Rome he founded an English college, and ordered a reformation in the calendar. He is suspected of having encouraged Parr to the assassination of queen Elizabeth.

Rome was at this time dreadfully infested by banditti. The provost-marshal of Rome, being informed that one of their chiefs had taken sanctuary in the palace of Orsini, went with the archers, and brought him thence; but, in his return, meeting with Orsini, Savello, and Rusticucci, three nobles who had been riding in the country, he was desired by them, in an imperious manner, to dismiss his prisoner, and

reproved for violating the sanctuary of the palace. As he refused to comply with their demands, one of the nobles struck him with his whip, and he ordered the archers to fire at the nobles, one of whom was instantly killed and the other two mortally wounded. This scuffle occasioned a general tumult throughout the city, all the nobles espousing the cause of Orsini; and many of the people, who were their dependants, assembling in a riotous manner, and murdering all the sbirri, or archers, whom they could find. Gregory, not being able to suppress their violence, dissembled his resentment for some days; but having apprehended some of the chiefs of the sedition, he ordered them to be executed; and, to appease the people, he caused the provost-marshal to be put to death.

In the following year, he received an embassy from three kings in Japan, who, some years before, had been converted to the Christian religion by Francis Xavier and other Jesuits. The two ambassadors, with their retinue, and other two nobles who accompanied them, after a voyage of two years, arrived in Spain; where they were received with great respect by Philip, who conducted them to Leghorn, whence they went to Florence, where they were entertained with great magnificence by the grand duke. Upon their arrival at Rome, Gregory desired all the cardinals and foreign ambassadors to wait upon him in form, when he granted them an audience, and received their obedience in a publick consistory: overcome with joy, the pope could not refrain from shedding tears. After the audience, he admitted A. D. 1585.

them to the honour of lifting up the hem of his garment, appointed the Jesuits convent for their residence, ordered them to be clothed in the Italian manner, and granted them a large allowance for their expenses. Many people affirmed that the embassy was an imposition of the Jesuits, to advance the credit of their order; and that the pretended ambassadors were only mean persons, hired and instructed to personate that character, by those fathers, who likewise forged their credentials; and being their interpreters, made them speak whatever best suited their purposes. Their honourable reception gave occasion to some pasquinades; and several Spanish merchants then at Rome, who had lately been at Japan, affirmed, that when they were in that kingdom, they had heard no mention of any embassy, or of the conversion of any king.

A few days after this event, Gregory, being seized with a quinsey, died, on the tenth of April, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He had enjoyed a strong constitution, improved by temperance and exercise; his countenance was cheerful and pleasing; and he was greatly beloved by the Romans, on account of the lenity of his government: but they did not consider that the weakness of his administration permitted every vice. During his pontificate, the greatest crimes were committed with impunity, and a corruption of manners overspread the whole ecclesiastical state. As the new pope always begins his government with a general pardon to all criminals, upon his death the Romans threw off every restraint; the whole ecclesiastical state was one scene of

debauchery and barbarity; and at Rome assassinations, murders, and rapes, were committed by all degrees of people, clergy as well as laity. The palaces of five cardinals were robbed; and that of the Farnese, where there were above thirty servants and guards, was plundered, not in a private manner, but publicly, and in the middle of the day.

In the election of another pope, cardinals Alexandrino, Medicis, and d'Este, resolved to join their interest for cardinal Montalto, an old decrepid mortified prelate; who declined that dignity with great appearance of humility, unless they were willing to take the burthen of the administration on their own shoulders. To an exception of this sort, they readily agreed, and Montalto, being chosen, assumed the name of Sixtus V. He was of poor and mean parents, in the march of Ancona, at a village called le Grotte, in the lordship of Montalto. His father, Francis Peretti, who was a common ploughman, could not afford to give him any education, and, when he was nine years old, hired him out to one of his neighbours, to look after his sheep and hogs. In this mean occupation, he did not long continue; for, being desired by a Franciscan friar, who had lost his way, to show him the road to Ascoli, he deserted the hogs, and run before him to the town. The friar, having found his road again, several times desired him to return; but the boy refusing to leave him, he at length asked him if he would take upon him the habit of his order, which he described as being very austere: the boy replied, "That he would willingly suffer the pains of purgatory, if he would make

him a scholar." He was accordingly received, with the consent of his parents, into the convent of the Franciscans at Ascoli, where he quickly made a surprising progress in learning. He soon after distinguished himself at several publick disputations, and acquired the reputation of being an excellent preacher. But his fiery impetuous disposition, his insolent and disdainful behaviour, raised him, at the same time, many enemies. Early, he discovered great ambition; and, though he was envied and hated by his brother monks, yet, by his abilities, he acquired the favour of cardinal Carpi, whose protection was of great service to him against his numerous enemies. By the interest of this cardinal, he obtained several small promotions; and, having likewise ingratiated himself with father Ghisilieri, afterwards Pius V. and with the Colonna family at Rome, he obtained the office of inquisitor-general at Venice, where by his insolent and overbearing conduct, he so greatly offended the senate, that, upon the death of Paul IV. he was obliged to consult his safety by flight. However, upon the election of Pius IV. he returned to that city, but was again obliged to escape at midnight, in a gondola, after he had ordered an insolent monitory to be fixed upon the door of St. Mark's church. Upon his return to Rome, he was made consulter of the inquisition; and, upon the accession of Pius V. he was created general of his order, afterwards bishop of St. Agatha, and, at last, a cardinal. To enable him to support this dignity, Pius assigned him a pension, and besides made him a present of a considerable sum of money.

Upon his promotion to the sacred college,

which happened in the forty-ninth year of his age, he quite altered his former manner of life; in order to conceal his aspiring views, he affected a total disregard of all worldly pursuits, and became humble, meek, patient, and affable; which mask of hypocrisy he wore for fifteen years. He led a very retired and private life, exercised himself in works of piety, spent much of his time in the confessional chair, seldom appeared in the consistories, and, during the three last years of the pontificate of Gregory, affected to be very infirm and sickly, so that he was often saluted in a manner which would not have been very agreeable to any body else, "God help you, poor old man; you have already almost run your race." The cardinals, out of contempt, used to call him the Ass of la Marca. What was their astonishment, when he threw of the disguise!

While they were crowding towards him in the conclave, to congratulate him on the appearance of success, he sat coughing and weeping as if some great misfortune had befallen him; but, no sooner did he perceive, upon the scrutiny, that there was a sufficient number of votes to secure his election, than he threw his staff, with which he used to support himself, into the middle of the chapel; stretched himself up; and appeared taller, almost by a foot, than he had seemed for several years before. His behaviour alarmed the cardinal-dean, who called out, "Stay a little, softly; there is a mistake in the scrutiny;" but Montalto, with a stern look, boldly answered, "There is no mistake:" and immediately began the Te Deum Laudamus, in such a strong and audible voice, that the

whole conclave was at first struck dumb; but, at length, accompanied him in a tame and spiritless manner. After the hymn, the master of the ceremonies asked him, according to form, "Whether he was pleased to accept of the papacy?" to which he replied, "It is trifling and impertinent to ask whether I will accept of what I have already accepted. However, to satisfy any scruple that may arise, I tell you that I accept of it with great pleasure, and would accept of another, if I could get it: for I find myself strong enough, by the divine assistance, to manage two papacies." While the cardinals were putting on his pontifical robes, he stretched out his arms with great vigour and activity; upon which one of them said to him, in a familiar way, "I perceive, holy father, the pontificate is a sovereign medicine, since it can restore youth and health to old sick cardinals:" he replied, in a grave and majestick manner, "So I find it." After cardinal Farnese had performed the ceremony of the adoration, he said to him, "Your holiness seems quite a different sort of man from what you was a few hours ago." "Yes," said he, "I was then looking for the keys of paradise, which obliged me to stoop a little; but now I have found them, it is time to look upwards, as I am arrived at the summit of all human glory, and can climb no higher in this world." In his passage from the conclave to St. Peter's, the people, who at first would not believe that he was the same person with the old decrepid cardinal Montalto, cried out, "Long live the pope!" and added, according to custom, "Plenty, holy father, plenty and justice!"

To which exclamation, he replied, "Pray to God for plenty, and I will give you justice."

Sixtus, however, by his rigid administration of justice, soon reformed the manners of the Romans. He compelled the poor to work, and the nobles to pay their debts, obliged the confessors to inform him of the crimes of their penitents, and extirpated the banditti. He adorned Rome with many new structures, erected several courts of cardinals, and restored the authority of the apostolick see in Switzerland. He excommunicated the king of Navarre, who appealed to a general council, and Elizabeth, queen of England, who, in return, excommunicated him and all his adherents. A. D. 1588. Sixtus, however, was at one time heard to say that there were but two princes in the world, meaning Henry of Navarre, and Elizabeth of England, whose friendship and correspondence he would court, if they were not both infected with the guilt of heresy. Sixtus expressed little regret for the murder of the duke of Guise, but inexpressible resentment at that of the cardinal, and he even praised the murder of the king, though he refused to declare for the league in France. He conferred honours and wealth on his relations, was generally grateful to his former benefactors, and had in return a statue erected to him by the Romans. Sixtus also published an edition of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, which gave offence to the cardinals, who ventured to expostulate with him against the book, but he treated them with contempt, and only said, "We have done it for the benefit of you, who don't understand Latin."

A. D. 1590. Sixtus died at Rome, on the 27th of August, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the sixth of his pontificate. His death was, by many, attributed to poison sent from the court of Spain.

Sixtus was succeeded by Urban VII. and he, soon after, by Gregory XIV. who declared for the league in France, and excommunicated Henry IV. Gregory dying, Innocent IX. succeeded, and, on his death, Clement VIII. who likewise espoused the interest of the league.

A. D. 1595. Soon after, however, Henry IV. embraced the Roman Catholick religion, many cities were reconciled to him, and he received absolution from the pope.

CHAP. X.

The Popes continued till the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century.

IN the eighth year of the pontificate of Clement, a dreadful inundation of the Tyber happened at Rome, occasioned by the frequent rains, and a strong south wind, which stopped the current of the river. A. D. 1599. On Christmas-day, the whole city was covered, excepting only the seven mountains, and a few other rising grounds. Upwards of a thousand people perished, and the city received more damage than if it had been plundered by an enemy. The charity of the pope and of several cardinals, was very conspicuous during this publick calamity, by alleviating the distresses of the poor, and furnishing them with provisions. In the following year, a jubilee was celebrated at Rome; when, on the evening of the last day of December, Clement, with the usual ceremony, opened the holy gate of St. Peter's, while three of the cardinals, at the same time, opened the gate of St. Paul's, in the road to Ostia, St. John's in the Lateran, and St. Mary Major's. At this time, Clement was solicited to annul the anathema against the king of France, and, remembering the fatal consequences of the behaviour of his predecessor Clement VII. to Henry VIII. of England, he, without opposition, acceded to it.

In the same year, Clement founded a monastery for those poor girls, who, without any habi-

tation, wandered in the streets of Rome, having, four years before, founded one for the poor boys, who were afterwards called Literati, from one Literatus, who was the first promoter of that charity. Having been the patron and protector of the Scottish nation, at the court of Rome, before his promotion to the pontificate, he now also founded and endowed a college, for the instruction of the young men from that kingdom. In the following year, two ambassadors arrived at Rome, from the king of Persia, to solicit the assistance of the Christian powers, against the Turks. The two ambassadors, one of whom was an Englishman, had a fierce dispute about precedence, upon their publick entry into Rome; after some blows, the Englishman obtained possession of the honourable place, and was admitted to a separate audience from his colleague; but their embassy was without any effect, and each of them having received several thousand crowns from the pope, left Rome, the Persian sailing to Spain, and the Englishman, having deceived all his creditors, pretending to return directly to Persia. Some years after this, Clement died, in the seventieth year of his age, and the fourteenth year of his pontificate; during which he had created upwards of fifty cardinals, among whom were Baronius, Bellarmine, Du Perrou, De Sourdi, D'Offat, and Olivier.

A. D. 1605.

Upon the death of Clement, Leo XI. was elected, and dying soon after, was succeeded by Paul V. who endeavoured to maintain the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; in consequence of which, he quarrelled with the Venetians, but, by the mediation of Henry IV. was soon reconciled to

them. Paul received embassies from the kings of Persia and Congo, and from the Nestorian patriarch at Babylon. At the assassination of the king of France, which soon after happened, he expressed much sorrow; and, as a testimony of his regard, he assisted personally at his obsequies; which were celebrated at Rome with great solemnity. Hearing that some young Frenchmen in the city rejoiced at the king's death, and styled the assassin the deliverer of their country, he ordered them to be seized; and, upon a process made against them, condemned them to the gallies. Though Paul was remiss in the administration of publick affairs, yet he took much delight in adorning the city with magnificent buildings: he brought water to several parts of the city by aqueducts, and embellished the streets with a great number of fountains; on which account, he was styled, by Pasquin, Pontifex Maximus. He opposed an alliance between the Prince of Wales and a daughter of Francis, and accused the parliament of Paris of encroaching upon the jurisdiction of the church. He also put an end to the disputes about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.—Having celebrated a jubilee at Rome, for imploring the protection of God for the defence of the church, endangered by the protestants, he died in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his pontificate. A. D. 1621.

He was succeeded by Gregory XV. who excited the king of France against the Hugonots, and endeavoured to suppress the protestants in general. He granted a dispensation to the infanta of Spain to marry the prince of Wales,

on condition that the marriage should be celebrated in Spain, according to the rites of the Romish church; that the ecclesiasticks of the infanta should be all Spaniards, and subject to a bishop; and that, besides the queen's chapel, the papists should be allowed to build a church in London. Soon afterwards, he died at Rome, and was succeeded by Urban VIII.

This pope exhorted James, king of England, and his son, to embrace the popish religion, but refused to publish a crusade against Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who had, at that time, defeated the imperial army at Leipsick. Being jealous of the power of Richlieu in France, and having taken several opportunities to vex him, that cardinal recalled the count de Noailles from Rome, and sent in his place the marshal d'Etrees, who he knew was not agreeable to the pope. D'Etrees, during this embassy, received two great affronts at the pope's court; the one in the person of his daughter-in-law, who was debauched, upon a promise of marriage, by the pope's nephew, cardinal Anthony, and poisoned by him upon her proving with child; the other in the person of his groom, whom the cardinal patron ordered to be killed at Frescati, upon account of his insolence. In the following year, Urban condemned the book of Jansenius, and made war against the duke of Parma, on the subject of the dukedom of Castro, possessed by this prince in the papal territories, but being involved in great difficulties by it, was forced to conclude a peace. Soon after, Urban died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-first of his pontificate. He is accused of having been, in some mea-

A. D. 1644.

sure, concerned in the massacre of the protestants in Ireland, which kingdom, it is said, he endeavoured to reduce under his own dominion, by means of his nuncio Rinuncini. Nevertheless, he was esteemed by the protestants, who frequently drank his health, and styled him their good friend. He was reckoned one of the most learned men of his time. To one Rusticus, archbishop of Rouen, who dedicated a huge insignificant volume to him, he replied by a line from Dispanter's grammar,—"Suprimit Urbanus que rusticus edit inepte." He was however greatly blamed for stripping the brass from the roof of the Pantheon, or Rotondo, to adorn an altar in St. Peter's church, and for taking down a part of the ancient Colosseum, to build, with its bricks, the palace of his family, which gave occasion to the pasquinade, "Quod non fecere Barbari, fecere Barberini."

Innocent X. succeeded Urban, and declared war against the duke of Parma, from whom he ultimately took Castro. He persecuted the family of the late pope Barberini, but they being protected by the court of France, he was forced to a reconciliation. The behaviour of the pope to his nephew Camillo, or cardinal Pamphilio, likewise exposed him to the publick censure. The cardinal, having fallen in love with the princess Rossana, a young widow, laid aside his hat, without the knowledge of the pope, and privately married her; which so exasperated his uncle and his mother Donna Olympia, that, after a private conference of two hours, they resolved to banish him and his lady from Rome. This severe determination was accordingly executed, to the astonishment of the Romans, who thought the

crime very pardonable, as the princess Rossana was not only distinguished by her birth and fortune, but by her beauty and personal accomplishments. Their banishment was chiefly attributed to Donna Olympia, who, being jealous that the princess would lessen her sovereign authority, thought proper to keep her at a distance from the court. Innocent, soon after, refused to acknowledge the king of Portugal, and condemned the treaties of Osnaburgh and Munster. He likewise confirmed the bull of Urban against the Jansenists, and offered the investiture of Naples to the duke of Guise. About the same time, he adopted a nephew whom he created cardinal Patron, and, banishing Olympia, restored also to favour his nephew Camillo, and the princess Rossana, together with the Barberini.

A. D. 1655. In the following year, Innocent died, in the eighty-first year of his age, and the eleventh of his pontificate. During his last illness, he received nothing but from the hands of Donna Olympia, who had again assumed the administration, and was at great pains to prolong his life. She is said, during the last ten days of his life, when he continued without the use of reason, to have amassed about half a million of crowns.

Alexander VII. succeeded him, and, instead of indulging in the luxury of a court, lived in the strictest abstinence and mortification of body. To remind him of mortality, he ordered his coffin to be brought into his chamber; he eat common food seasoned with ashes; and slept on a straw mattress, or on boards, with a stone under his head. Whether, by these external mortifications, he deceived himself, or wanted to

deceive the world, is uncertain ; but cardinal de Retz mentions, that he urged upon him the necessity of some outward show, to secure the regard of the publick ; and remarks likewise, that this pope seemed to him to have a very narrow genius. He relates, that when a fine statue was shown to the pope, he took notice only of a fringe that went round the bottom of the robe, and, in a conversation with himself, in the conclave, when talking of his youthful studies, he observed that he had written two years with the same pen. Alexander heaped wealth and honours upon his own relations, but ordered Donna Olympia to be prosecuted. By degrees, likewise, he laid aside his austere manner of living, and ran into the other extreme, exceeding all his predecessors in the pomp and magnificence of his robes, furniture, and equipages. He continually employed himself in trifles, became envious and jealous of all the world, was ridiculously vain, and never spoke a word of truth. Alexander induced the Venetians to permit the return of the Jesuits, and issued a bull condemning the book of Jansenius, which occasioned great disturbances in France. In the mean time, the peace of the Pyrenees was concluded without his participation, for which he blamed the cardinal Mazarine, minister of France, who seized every opportunity of throwing contempt upon his person and authority. This animosity destroyed the good understanding between his holiness and the duke of Crequi, the French ambassador at Rome. This nobleman, on his first arrival, was received with the utmost ceremony and respect ; and, being distinguished by his nobility and personal accomplishments, was greatly caressed by

the pope. As he was naturally of a haughty disposition, and had secret orders from the king to mortify the pope and his relations, he soon began to pay more respect to other cardinals than to the pope's nephews. Alexander immediately resented this affront, and behaved to Crequi with great coldness at his audiences. This behaviour soon broke out into open enmity, occasioned at first by two Frenchmen, who, to show their bravery, disarmed the night patrole, consisting of three Corsi. Soon after, some bailiffs and officers, to show themselves diligent in their duty, entered the ambassador's house in search of certain criminals, while he was at mass in the chapel. That same evening, a Frenchman, who in passing through the quarters of the Corsi, had thrown out against them some ignominious reproach, was pursued by them to the ambassador's house, where they assembled, to the number of four hundred, with drums beating and colours flying, and fired upon the ambassador, who came to the window to endeavour to appease them. They likewise fired upon his lady, who was returning home in her coach, and killed one of her lacquies. As the brother and the nephew of the pope covered the escape of the Corsi who were reckoned most guilty, and but slightly punished the others, the duke of Crequi looked upon the pope's relations as the authors of the insult; and, though the whole of that family paid their visits of condolence to him and his lady, excusing the tumult, which they said was owing solely to the insolence of the guards, he insisted upon more full satisfaction for the outrage, and sent an account of the whole transaction to his court. Soon after, he left Italy.

However, his holiness, almost at the same time, sent his nephew, the cardinal Ghigi, legate *a latere*, to France, and a treaty was concluded between the pope and the French court, upon terms very dishonourable to his holiness. In the following year Alexander sent three chests of relicks to France, together with a bull, which affirmed that they might, with all confidence, be exposed to the veneration of the people. When the relicks, however, were examined by a physician, one of the sculls, entitled, the Head of St. Fortunatus, was found to be artificially made of pasteboard, and fell to pieces upon being put into warm water. The physician immediately received a *lettre de cachet*, prohibiting him from publishing the discovery, upon pain of being sent to the Bastile. Soon after, Alexander died at Rome, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his pontificate, and was succeeded by Clement IX. A. D. 1665.

Clement acted with great moderation to his relations, conferring upon them only small favours. He offered his mediation for peace between France and Spain, then at war, and acknowledged Don Pedro, king of Portugal, who some time before had deposed his brother, succeeded him in the throne, and married his queen, who had obtained from the pope's legate a divorce from her first husband, on proving his impotence by no less than thirty physicians. Upon being informed of the loss of Candia, Clement fell into an apoplexy, and afterwards into a melancholy, of which he died in about a month, on the 9th of December, much lamented, and was succeeded by Clement X. a decrepid old man of eighty years of age. A. D. 1669.

This pope adopted as his nephew, cardinal Paluzzi, who assumed a most absolute power, disputing with the French king concerning the right of the regalia, or jus patronatus, and depriving foreign ministers of their immunities. Having held the pontificate five years, Clement died of old age. A few hours before his death, Paluzzi pressed him to fill up four vacant places of cardinals, with creatures of his own, but, to check his importunity, Clement said, with some emotion, "you ought to be content, as you have been pope for six years; suffer me now to follow my own inclinations, and to be pope for six hours only."

A. D. 1675.

His successor Innocent XI. likewise disputed the right of investiture with the king and the clergy of France; but was well pleased with the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and the prosecution of the protestants in France. He proposed a general reformation, and endeavoured to repress the immodesty and luxury of the dress of the women of Rome, ordering them, both married and unmarried, to cover their shoulders and bosom to the neck, and their arms to the wrist, and forbidding them to employ men to teach them to sing, or to play on any instrument. These terrible orders produced but little reformation. Innocent also suppressed the sect of the Quietists, condemning the author of their principles to perpetual imprisonment, though he looked upon him as a good man, and had a high opinion of his sanctity. He likewise firmly resisted the claims of foreign ministers to franchises or privileges. Certain it is, however, that he did not warmly countenance the designs of James II. of England, for restoring the catholick re-

ligion in that kingdom. Innocent died at Rome, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and was succeeded by Alexander VIII. A. D. 1689.

His successor promised assistance to the abdicated king of England, exhorted him to suffer his adverse fortune patiently, and informed him that he would spare neither his prayers, authority, nor purse, for his restoration. Alexander, however, observed no measure in aggrandizing his own family, and renewed the dispute with France about the regalia. Fifteen months after his promotion, Alexander died, and was succeeded by Innocent XII. A. D. 1691.

Innocent reformed many abuses at Rome. He ordered that the masters of his household should not permit the expense of his dinner to exceed a festoon, or eighteen pence, and that they should not provide for him any supper. He suppressed all useless offices, and ordered the sbirri to go into all the quarters of the ambassadors, and the garrison of Rome, to assist them in case of need. Soon after he caused a young man to be hanged for opposing them. He compelled a Roman prince to pay his creditors, and to behave to his vassals with moderation. He imprisoned a duke in the castle of St. Angelo, for having threatened his uncle, who was a prelate; and banished a cavalier, who had been guilty of some irregularities, notwithstanding the intercession of a cardinal, his uncle. Some ladies were sent to the castle of St. Angelo for having played at basset and hazard, contrary to his edict; and some of the sbirri were scourged for having taken money from several great players at cards whom they had

discovered. He prohibited the ecclesiasticks from wearing perukes, and ordered all the curates at Rome to assemble every Wednesday, to confer about cases of conscience. Every Monday, he gave publick audience to the poor, whom he was chiefly intent upon comforting, and whom he called his nephews. He ordered five thousand of them to be lodged in the Lateran palace, and assigned a fund of three hundred thousand crowns for their support; at the same time, to prevent the increase of the number, imprisoning and banishing all idle persons who refused to work. In the second year of his pontificate, by steadiness and resolution, he obliged the cardinals to comply with his design of abolishing nepotism, by limiting the bounties that the most indulgent could grant to the sum of twelve thousand crowns. The French bishops, in the mean time, made their submission to him; and he refused to allow the emperor any jurisdiction within the ecclesiastical state. Some years after, Innocent sent a subsidy to king James, and congratulated the elector of Saxony upon his conversion to the Roman catholick faith, and his election to the crown of Poland. About the same time, a book of Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, was condemned by a bull, to which that great man immediately paid an entire submission. In the following year, Innocent published a bull for the celebration of a jubilee at Rome, but he died before its conclusion, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and the tenth of his pontificate.

A. D. 1700.

CHAP. XI.

The Popes continued till the Pontificate of Pius VI. and the Conquest of Italy by the French.

SOON after the death of Innocent, and the celebration of the jubilee in the beginning of the year 1700, Clement XI. was elected pope, though, by a rare example of modesty, he for three days refused, with the most ardent protestations, to consent to the choice of the cardinals. He prayed, wept, and conjured them to turn their thoughts upon a more worthy person; and, as a reason for his dissent, he mentioned his great love for his relations, which would influence him to break the law against nepotism, to the scandal of Christianity, the dishonour of the sacred college, and the damnation of his own soul. Clement gave some encouragement to the abdicated king of England: he wrote to James with his own hand, and sent him his picture. But he refused to engage in the war about the Spanish succession. He likewise condemned the idolatrous worship of the Chinese converts, permitted by the Jesuit mis- A D.
sionaries, as well as the New Testament 1709.
published some years afterwards by father Quesnel. Towards the commencement of his pontificate, Rome had been almost desolated by earthquakes; and it was now harassed by his contests with the emperor, who having taken possession of Ferrara, soon forced him to an accommodation. The emperor Joseph dying in

the following year, was succeeded by the archduke Charles.

Pope Clement also dying, was succeeded by Innocent XIII. Benedict XIII. Clement XII. Benedict XIV. and Clement XIII. who exerted himself to maintain the falling power of the Jesuits. During the pontificate of this pope, the city and territories of Avignon and the Venaissin were claimed as fiefs by the French king. The marquis de Rochecovart was sent to execute this commission. Having summoned the vice-legate, that prelate made answer, that as he had no troops to oppose him, he could only make use of the arms of the church; and therefore he denounced against him the bull *in cœna domini*, containing the penalties incurred by those who seize upon the property of the church. But these once awful arms were now no longer feared; a detachment of dragoons entered the city, which the legate had evacuated. About thirty old Swiss soldiers, who stood with rusty partizans before the gates of the pope's palace, were put aside like useless lumber, the gates kicked open by the jack-booted dragoons, and possession taken in the name of the French king. Some French troops also took possession of Carpentras and Cavaillon in the Venaissin.

A. D. 1768.

About the same time, the duke of Parma published the Pragmatick Sanction, by which the pope's authority over his subjects was abridged, and likewise expelled the Jesuits from his dominions. A brief was in consequence issued against him by the pope, which all the solicitations of the French, Spanish, and German ministers, could not move him to revoke. In re-

venge for this, the king of Naples seized upon Benevento and Corvo; Castro and Ronciglione. The duke of Modena also laid claim to the dutchy of Ferrara, and all of them concurred in oppressing the clergy. Though the resolution of the pontiff was proof against those trying events, yet his health gradually declined, and he soon after died.

The troubles of Italy terminated with his death, and Ganganelli ascended the papal chair by the name of Clement XIV. Pending his election, Rome was visited by the emperor, but he left that city before its conclusion. Ganganelli had been a monk of the Franciscan order, and was, at the time of his election, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He had been created a cardinal by the late pope, in 1759, and had ever since lived in the cell belonging to his order in Rome, in the most private and recluse manner. His moderation and unambitious conduct seemed to point him out as the person most likely to conciliate the differences between the see of Rome and the princes of the house of Bourbon. The choice accordingly gave universal satisfaction. The first act of this new pontiff was to lower the price of provisions. He also ordered the city of Rome to be ridded of vagabonds of every species, and while he forced the healthy to work, he provided the aged and infirm with every necessary. He suppressed the custom of kissing the toe, practised by the generals of the monkish orders, when they congratulated a pope upon his election; he embraced them all, except the general of the Jesuists; to him he gave only his blessing. This

coolness was ominous, perhaps, but not yet justified in event.

That answer which Ganganelli made to the flattering speech addressed to him by the tribunal of the supreme inquisition, is worthy the attention of other princes on their accession to a throne. "The Saviour of the world," said the pontiff, "was loaded with praises on his entrance into Jerusalem, by the same people, who, soon after, heaped reproaches on him, and demanded his death."

Repeated solicitations were now made to the new pontiff, by the courts of Paris, Madrid, Naples, and Lisbon, for the total extinction of the order of the Jesuits. But in regard to them, Ganganelli said, he could neither blame nor annihilate an institution which had been applauded and confirmed by nineteen of his predecessors; that he could the less do it, because it had been confirmed by the council of Trent, which the maxims of the French church declared superior to the pope; that he owed to them, as to all religious orders, justice and protection; that some princes had written to him in their behalf; and that he could not, by their destruction, content some powers, without displeasing others; but that, if it was desired, he would call a council, in which every thing should be discussed, with justice and equity, and the Jesuits heard in their own defence. As to the territorial claims, Ganganelli said, that as he was not proprietor, but only administrator of the domains of the holy see, he could neither cede nor sell them; but this refusal did not avail for the preservation of Avignon, and the Venaissin. The French king

irrevocably annexed these territories to his dominions, and the king of Naples continued to retain the dutchy of Benevento. In the following year, however, Ganganelli obtained by kindness, what his predecessor had lost, by a rigid, and perhaps harsh perseverance, in defence of what he deemed his rights. France almost resigned Avignon, and the territories seized by the king of Naples were held by a less resolute tenure. A. D. 1770.

In 1773, the court of Rome, at length, submitted to the united power of the house of Bourbon, by the final suppression of the order of the Jesuits, after they had, for above two hundred years, made so much noise, and created so much confusion in the world. The charges against them, however, were loose and indistinct. But in consequence of the pope's bull, ten bishops went, at night, attended by a detachment of Corsican soldiers, to all the colleges and houses belonging to the Jesuits, in Rome, of which they took possession, and having placed the necessary guards, after the proper forms were gone through, those fathers delivered up their keys and the locks of their archives being sealed, and effects of all sorts being secured, even to provisions, they were allowed eight days to find new dwellings, and to quit the habit of the order.

Such was the fate of this celebrated society; which, with a very considerable portion of talents and genius, had nevertheless rendered itself odious to all the nations and religions of the Christian world. The riches found in their houses and colleges were very inconsiderable, and greatly disappointed the hopes of those who expected to have found inexhaustible treasures in

the search. As the suppression of this order removed every difference between the house of Bourbon and the court of Rome, a thorough reconciliation took place. Two years after this, pope Ganganelli died. He was reserved, melancholy, and misanthropick; but those who had an opportunity of intimately knowing him, regretted that he did not oftener condescend to sociality. He lived retired, solitary, and uneasy, a slave to precaution, which, however, did not shelter him from poison.

John Angelo Braschi was next raised to the papal chair, by the name of Pius VI. A. D. 1775. He was descended of one of the most ancient and illustrious families of Romagna, and is said to have had a fine person, with a great portion of sense, vivacity, and knowledge. He was greatly esteemed by Benedict XIV. who employed him in transacting many affairs of importance, upon which occasions he was generally distinguished by his disinterestedness, zeal, and ability. With the late pope he was likewise in favour, and from him obtained a cardinal's hat, and was appointed treasurer of the apostolick chamber. Though only possessed of a moderate fortune, he is said to have managed it so well, as to have enabled himself to give frequent and undoubted proofs of the generosity of his heart, and the magnificence of his disposition.

Braschi began his government by popular acts: he lowered the price of butcher's meat, and privately reimbursed the butchers the losses which they had sustained. He also issued an ordinance for the better regulation of the clergy in Rome, by which they were forbidden, under the most

rigorous penalties, from appearing in the habits of the laity, from entering coffee or gaming houses, from walking in the evenings with the other sex, and from entertaining any female domesticks under forty years of age.

In 1781, the greatest alarm was excited in the court of Rome, by the emperor's suppressing all the religious houses in Germany, the Austrian Netherlands, and even in the Milanese. In this distressing state of affairs, Pius VI. notwithstanding his great age, his infirmities, the badness of the roads, the length of the journey, and the extreme severity of the season, determined upon going to Vienna, and personally remonstrating with the emperor. In vain were the representations of his friends to dissuade him from the journey; he resolutely answered, that no perils should deter him from the discharge of his duty; that, whatever he might suffer in the attempt, were he even doomed to perish in the execution, it would be no more than he was bound to endure; that the event lay with God, but the fulfilling of his duty with himself: for these reasons, he inflexibly adhered to his determination, set out on his journey, and arrived at Vienna, on the 22d of March; but, after several conferences, he gained not one material object. His visit to Vienna occasioned no intermission whatever of the emperor's proceedings. The pope, therefore, after continuing a month at that city, set out for Rome, where he arrived about the middle of June. A. D. 1782.

In 1786, Pius dignified his name, by a publick labour of such magnitude and utility, as would have done honour to ancient Rome, in the zenith of her glory: he boldly undertook, and perse-

vered in, the Herculean task of draining the Pontine marshes; and the Appian Way, which had for so many ages been lost, and buried under a deep morass, was at length recovered, cleared, and repaired. Meanwhile, the emperor still proceeded in his reformation of the church, and opposition to the papal power. Upon his death, five years after this, Leopold was elected king of the Romans, and crowned emperor.

The revolution had now commenced in France, and the newly elected bishops in that country were installed by the magistrates of their respective sees; but such of them as submitted to this regulation, incurred the severest reproaches of the court of Rome, as having basely betrayed the rights of the church. Pius even proceeded to a formal excommunication of those bishops, who admitted the ecclesiastical constitution, esta-

A. D. 1791. blished by the national assembly. This measure, which in former times, would have produced the most dreadful confusion, was now made an object of derision; it exposed the vanity of the pretensions of the pontiffs, and showed how low their power was fallen: the effigy of Pius, clad in his pontifical robes, and holding in his hand the brief of excommunication, was publicly burned at Paris. And, in whatever light this conduct of the court of Rome was viewed, it was the most fatal to its power, that could have been adopted; it was a prelude to its fall. Avignon, in the first place, was instantly incorporated with France.

The court of Rome now joined the confede-

A. D. 1796. ration against the republick of France, and four years afterwards, Bonaparte led his victorious troops over the Alps.

He was every where successful, and the battle of Lodi decided the fate of Lombardy. Verona, Mantua, Tortona, Bologna, and Urbino, quickly yielded to his arms. He menaced even imperial Rome. Terrified at this invasion of his territories, and incapable of resisting it, the pope sued for an armistice, which was granted to him on these, among other conditions, that his holiness should surrender to the conquerors a great many pictures and statues, and some hundreds of the most curious manuscripts, from the Vatican library. The pope now yielded to necessity with wonderful grace. He discharged his subjects from molesting, and even from reviling the French. He exhorted them to use them well, and even to pray for them. The Christians seemed now to return to the principles of "loving their enemies, blessing those that cursed them, doing good to those that hated them, and praying for those that despitefully used and persecuted them." All persons, imprisoned for their opinions, were now set at liberty; the ports of the ecclesiastical state were thrown open to the French, and shut to whoever were their enemies, and a free passage allowed to the troops of France through the papal territories.

But Bonaparte had no sooner retired, than the few French who remained at Rome were insulted by the populace, at the instigation of the monks, and their lives were endangered. The court of Rome, also, began to use more haughty language, and by sending troops into the field, to infringe the treaty they had lately concluded. In the following year, however, the French entered the territories of the holy see, first publishing a pro- A. D. 1797.

clamation to the inhabitants of the papal dominions, informing them, that they would faithfully protect religion and property, and maintain the publick peace. They were warned to abstain from every act of enmity, which would inevitably draw down upon them all the vengeance and all the horrors of war. Every town and village that sounded the tocsin, on the approach of the French army, was threatened with instant ruin. Every district where a Frenchman was assassinated, was to be declared hostile, and subjected to contribution, and if the clergy attempted to excite in the people a spirit of resistance, military law should be executed upon them, and they should be treated more severely than others.

A division of the French army, commanded by general Victor, first entered the papal territories. The pope's troops, consisting of four thousand foot, and one thousand horse, posted on advantageous ground, waited his arrival. The Senio was in front of their strong intrenchment; but, as the season was dry, the French forded the river, and came upon their rear; while their front was vigorously attacked by the legion of Lombardy, consisting of northern Italians, whose antipathy to the southern is remarkable. They broke the line of the papal army, at the point of the bayonet. After a defence, by no means contemptible, the papal troops were routed. Five hundred were slain and wounded, about a thousand made prisoners, and fourteen pieces of cannon taken. The loss of the French did not exceed one hundred. This battle decided the fate of the ecclesiastical state. The banners of imperious France now waved triumphant over the patrimony of the church.

CHAP. XII.

Disturbances at Rome, and its Organization into a Republick; Resignation and Death of Pius VI. Election of Pius VII. and re-establishment of the Popedom.

THE pope was now forced to conclude a dishonourable peace with the French republick. He agreed to the cession of Avignon, and the Venaissin, and of the cities and territories of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. He engaged likewise, to pay thirty thousand of French livres to the republick, and to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of armistice formerly agreed to. In order to prevent the future power of the Roman pontiffs, the newly ceded territories, together with those of Reggio and Modena, which had already confederated themselves, were now formed into one republick, while the Milanese, and other districts of Lombardy, were formed into another. Thus the powers and importance, once annexed to the see of Rome, were annihilated. Thus the influence of France in Italy was established on the surest foundation—the necessity of a faithful adherence to it, by those states that depended on it for their preservation.

The humiliation of the pope was followed by further degradation. To answer the demands of the French, he was forced to impose upon his subjects the most grievous taxes, and his dominions were divided and distracted. Worn down with grief and anxiety at his calamitous situation, he fell into an illness that brought him to

the very borders of the grave. He recovered, but had the mortification to see that his life was not an object of popular desire. Of nepotism he had been guilty in a scandalous degree: he had aggrandized his nephews, though destitute of every virtue; and his conduct, contrasted with that of the celebrated Ganganelli, appeared in no favourable view. Thus every thing concurred to disseminate the spirit of sedition, which strengthened every day. Numbers emigrated, from an apprehension of popular violence; the court of Rome was thrown into terror, and that city was precisely in the state of Paris before the revolution. The pope was now compelled to adopt every odious measure: to issue a new paper currency; to require the ecclesiastical orders to give in a statement of their revenues, and to lay upon them a tax of their sixth part. This last measure, more than any other, accelerated the decline of the papal authority and influence; it converted into enemies those who had hitherto remained its firmest props.

Joseph Bonaparte now arrived as ambassador from the directory to the court of Rome, and with resolution and firmness, demanded that the pope should expel the French emigrants from his dominions, diminish his military force, and set at liberty all persons arrested for their opinions on political subjects. The reduction of his forces, and the expulsion of the emigrants, though highly mortifying to his feeling as a sovereign, were much less humiliating than the authority wrested from him over his own subjects, by requiring their deliverance from prison, for practices that endangered the tranquillity of his dominions. But these peremptory demands were

submitted to by Pius with the utmost resignation.

The democratick party in Rome were now emboldened: they aimed not at the reformation, but at the total suppression of the papal government. In their endeavours, they requested assistance from the French ambassador, who, however, gave them no encouragement, and exhorted them to desist from an attempt which he represented to them as rash and impracticable; forbidding them, at the same time, to apply to him for countenance in any such undertaking. Notwithstanding this, trusting to the protection of France, in case of success, the revolutionary party assembled on the 27th of December, 1797; but being hardly one hundred in number, they were entirely dispersed by the military, of whom, however, they wounded some, and killed two or three. In this affray, the insurgents wore the French cockade, and a suspicion arose, that they had acted at the instigation of the French, but the ambassador of the republick disclaimed all the individuals who, on that occasion, had assumed it.

In the afternoon of the same day, the insurrection was renewed and became more serious. About twenty of the insurgents repaired to the palace of the French ambassador, and, proclaiming the Romans a free people, begged the protection of France. The ambassador ordered them to depart, and advised them to proceed no further in a frantick resistance to a government that was able instantly to crush them. Meanwhile, the insurrection was increasing, and the environs of his palace were filling with crowds that shouted, "Live the republick, live the Ro-

man people." The ambassador now prepared to exert his authority to disperse the multitude, but, before he could address them, they were fired upon, through the gates of the palace, by the military, who now pursued the flying crowd into the court. The French ambassador, demanding by what authority they entered his precincts, bid them instantly retire. His orders were disregarded; they again fired upon the insurgents, and killed and wounded many of them. As they seemed preparing another volley, general Duphot, who accompanied the ambassador, marched up to them; but while expostulating with them, while seizing the musket of one, and preventing another from firing, he was shot through the body by a soldier, and, when dead, was treated with the utmost indignity. To avoid the fury of the soldiers, the ambassador and his attendants now made the best of their way through a private path, that led to the gardens of his palace; there, on his return, he found many of the insurgents dead or wounded, and ordered the gates to be shut.

It was now six o'clock in the evening, and the government had not yet attempted to put a stop to the violence of the military, who still remained in front of the ambassador's palace. He wrote to the secretary of state, demanding his interposition. The ministers of Tuscany and Spain, arriving in the mean time, expressed as much surprise as he did, that government had not interfered. At eleven o'clock, he dispatched a second message to the secretary, apprising him that he was determined to leave Rome, where he could no longer stay to the prejudice of the dignity of his character. Cardinal Doria, the se-

cretary, at length, sent an officer and forty men, as a safeguard, together with a letter, exculpating his government, and offering whatever satisfaction the French republick should require. A letter of the same nature was sent to the marquis Massimi, the pope's resident at Paris, requesting him to assure the directory, that the Roman government was neither privy to, nor able to prevent this unfortunate affair, and was ready to submit to whatever conditions the directory might think proper, in order to atone for it, and recover the favour of the French republick.

No accident could have been more fatal to the papal government. It afforded an obvious pretext for the French to involve in one general crimination, not only those who had committed these excesses, but those also through whose incapacity or negligence they had not been prevented or restrained. "But this event," says Mr. Duppa, "though it might accelerate, did not produce the revolution. That was determined on before, and would have taken place had no such circumstance happened. A French officer one day familiarly conversing with the prior of a Dominican convent, on the circumstances of the revolution, had the liberality and the frankness to say—"We were distressed for money, and we were obliged to come: and as to the death of Duphot, it would have been of no consequence, had there not been other objects of greater importance in view." The personal situation of the pope, who was ill at the time, and the well known disposition of his ministers to live at peace with France, clearly prove that no occasion for a rupture could possibly be sought for, either by him or them. The fact was, that the

military commander in Rome, unadvisedly sent a detachment of troops to suppress the insurrection, with officers unqualified to direct them.

The French ambassador, however, retired to Florence, and the republican party at Rome began to consider itself in the certain road to success. They were not disappointed. Under pretence of avenging the affront offered to the French nation, in the person of its ambassador, General Berthier, with a large division of the French and Cisalpine army, marched to the city of Rome, and on the 11th of February, A. D. 1798. took possession of the castle of St. Angelo. A proclamation was now issued by Berthier, in which he declared that the intent of his mission was to bring to justice the authors of the assassination of general Duphot and of Basseville, secretary of legation to the French embassy at Rome in 1795, and to take the citizens of Rome under his protection. The insurgents soon after proclaimed the Roman republick, and planted the tree of liberty in the most publick places of the city. In compliance with their desire, Berthier likewise entered the city in much state and splendour, and proceeded to the capitol amidst an immense multitude. There, after invoking the manes of Brutus, Cato, Cicero, and other illustrious names of antiquity, he declared that the French republick, professing the principles of national sovereignty, acknowledged the independence of the Roman republick. The organization of the new commonwealth was immediately proceeded upon. Communes, municipalities, and national guards, were, under the auspices of Berthier, instituted in every part of

the Roman state, and liberty of conscience was allowed.

On the entrance of the French into Rome, the pope was confined in the Vatican, where he was guarded by five hundred men. Seals were also placed on the apartments of all the pontifical palaces, and upon those of all the cardinals that were absent. A contribution of four million livres in specie, two millions in provisions, and three in horses, was demanded. In order to secure the payment of this requisition, four cardinals, four bishops, and four princes were detained as hostages. Every person in office, suspected of enmity to the new order of things, was dismissed; and the papal troops were disarmed. A national cockade was ordained, titles were abolished, and the armorial ensigns of the ancient government were erased from every publick place. All property belonging to the British nation, or its allies, at war with France, whether in money or merchandize, was likewise ordered to be notified to the present government.

On the day of the republican proclamation, the cardinals abdicated the temporal government of the Roman state, several of those who were known to have participated in the violent measures against the French, among whom were the cardinals Albani, York, and Busca, having previously fled; and on the 19th of February, solemn thanks were given in all the churches of Rome, on account of this revolution: no less than fourteen cardinals were present at the ceremonies in the church of St. Peter, exclusive of priests, prelates, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. The pope submitted to this great change in his fortunes with uncommon resignation,

When general Cervoni, deputed from the French commander in chief for that purpose, signified to him, that the people having resumed the sovereignty, his reign was at an end, he appeared solely anxious about his spiritual dignity. On being informed that that remained inviolate, together with his person, he expressed himself contented. He was soon after forced to retire to Sienna, as his presence was thought dangerous at Rome; thither he went with reluctance, and, by the orders of the grand duke of Tuscany, was received with all the respect and attention due to his dignity and his misfortunes. But, for fear of irritating the French, he was ordered to remain *incognito* in the environs of that city, and the prelates and clergy of Tuscany, were forbidden to give any demonstration of the interest which they took in his fallen condition.

The extortions and depredations committed by the principal French officers, and the conspiracies and insurrections of the adherents to popedom, now, for some time, rendered Rome a scene of wretchedness and desolation. Pius was still dreaded and persecuted by the French; he was deserted even by the principal Roman catholick princes; and through grief of seeing himself the sport of fortune in his latter days, he was seized with a dangerous illness. The sufferings of a sovereign, dignified by his rank among the princes of Christendom, and venerable by his great age, and by the patience with which he bore his calamities, rendered Pius an object of respectful attention to Europe. Both protestants and catholicks, united in commiserating his condition, and in reprobating the un-

necessary and unfeeling severity with which he was treated by an unpitying conqueror.

In the following year, the aged father of the catholick church was torn from his retirement by the French, who now yielded to the triumphant arms of Suvorroff, and carried by them to Valence, whither, as he passed through Dauphiny, he was every where received, by multitudes of people, with sentiments of sympathy, respect, and veneration. They fell on their knees, and demanded his blessing; which he bestowed in a kind, affecting, and graceful manner. After an indisposition of several days, he expired at Valence, on the 19th of August, in the 82d year of his age. By the brutal order of the French government, unslaked lime was thrown into the grave to consume his body. A. D. 1799.

Not long after, general Garnier, French commander in Rome, surrendered the Roman territory, by capitulation, to the English commodore Trowbridge; and in the following year, notwithstanding the rapid conquests of Bonaparte, the papal government was restored. The conclave for the election of a successor to Pius VI. was held, under the auspices of the emperor, at Venice. The ecclesiastick honoured with the pontificate, was cardinal di Chiaramonte, a man of good sense, and mild and unassuming manners. As it was customary for the new pontiff to assume the name of the pope who had promoted him to the dignity of cardinal, Chiaramonte took that of Pius VII. The emperor, on his election, presented him with a sum of money; but did not at first restore any part of the papal dominions. How- A. D. 1800.

ever, after the battle of Marengo, when he became apprehensive of the loss of his power and influence in Italy, he resolved to have the credit of delivering up to the pope the greater part of the ecclesiastical state, rather than that it should fall into either the possession or the disposal of other hands. The emperor, it was also said, had been, for some time, suspicious of an understanding between the king of Naples and the emperor of Russia. The king, it was suspected, intended to accommodate the court of St. Petersburgh with, what had ever been the object of its ambition, some port in the Mediterranean sea, and to be indemnified by a portion of the ecclesiastical territory. But be this as it may, the Austrians having delivered up to his holiness the greater part of the ecclesiastical state, Pius VII. took possession of the see of Rome in July, and began to exercise the functions of sovereignty, with great dignity and moderation. He was soon after acknowledged by the French republick, and had the satisfaction to conclude with Bonaparte, the convention, or concordat, which, under certain limitations, established the Roman catholick religion in France.

A. D. 1802.

END OF THE HISTORY OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.

VENICE.

CHAP. I.

Different Changes of the Venetian Government till the close of the Fourteenth Century.

VENICE is built upon a number of small islands, in the Adriatick sea, or gulph of Venice, standing in forty-five degrees forty minutes north latitude. Its situation is strong, beautiful, and romantick. Nothing can be more wonderful than to see one of the finest cities of the earth rising out of the ocean, and appearing to float on the waves. Its magnificent palaces and lofty towers, washed by the flood, form a noble and delightful spectacle. One would almost think them either the splendid work of some magician's wand, or one of fancy's light aërial scenes. Its inhabitants amount to two hundred thousand, and its territories are considerably extensive.

Relative to the first establishment of the Venetian government, Casiodorus relates, that one would have taken this multitude of people for a numerous seminary of philosophers, cultivating the duties of religion and of virtue, and enjoying a perfect tranquillity. They contended not in luxury, ostentation, and A. D. 421.

expense; but in moderation, chastity, and virtue. Riches, honours, and ambition, had no charms for the Venetians; rich and poor lived upon a familiar equality. Property was common to all, and entirely devoted to the occasions of the republick. Merit was the only distinction, and that alone was esteemed true nobility which was acquired by virtue. Under such happy auspices did this republick receive her first laws, ordinances, and regulations. At this period, the government seems to have been consular.

It was afterwards changed to the tribunitian form, in which it continued for nearly three hundred years. Under the tribunes, Venice first made war. It is related, that, during this period, the inhabitants of Trieste, landing suddenly at Venice, carried off a number of the citizens. Pietro Candiano was appointed to revenge this unprovoked affront. His diligence was so great, that on the same day two ships of war were equipped, and under sail to seek the enemy, with whom he came up in the evening. He gave immediate orders for the attack, defeated the enemy, retook his countrymen, and carried the Tergestines prisoners into Venice. This is one of the first instances we have of the spirit, resolution, and prowess of this republick. By such exploits, Venice first acquired esteem and consequence among the neighbouring states.

A. D. 697. Upon the abuse of power by the tribunes, the ducal government was established. Paulatio was the first doge. He made the nation happy, powerful, and wealthy. As he was the first, so he was one of the best princes Venice ever saw. He was

succeeded by Marcello, Hypato, Theodato, Galla, Domenco Monegario, and Mauritio Galbaio.

During the dogeship of Mauritio, Venice was attacked by Pepin, the son of Charlemagne; but his success was not great, and the impression he made on the frontiers, which the duke bravely defended, was inconsiderable. The Venetians now declared themselves a free and independent people, acknowledging neither the eastern nor the western empire. Soon after the conclusion of this affair, Mauritio died; and with him was extinct, for a time, the happiness of the republick: his wisdom had safely conducted him through the most perilous and critical junctures the state ever beheld, and his valour gained him the esteem of Pepin, then the greatest potentate of the West. Giovanni and Obelerio the ninth doge succeeded him. A. D. 764.

Under Obelerio, Venice was again attacked and besieged by Pepin. As Obelerio was allied to Pepin, the command of the Venetian troops was given to Valentin. The Venetians, notwithstanding the most obstinate defence, the most vigorous sallies, and their selling every inch of ground at an incredible expense of blood, were, at length, reduced to that part of the city south of the Rialto; this stream and their own bravery being now their only defence. While Pepin was preparing to lay a bridge over the canal, they resolved, as a last effort, to attack his fleet, and to vanquish or die in defence of their liberty. Embarking all the troops they could spare, they bore down upon the enemy, and began the attack with such fury, as obliged the French admiral to give way. The lightness of their ships, and their knowledge of the sound-

ings, gave the Venetians every advantage: the enemy's fleet was run a-ground, and the greater part of their troops perished in attempting to escape; the ships were either taken or destroyed. During this action at sea, Pepin resolved to assault the city by land, and having, for this purpose, thrown a bridge over the Rialto, he was marching his troops across it, when he found himself attacked on every side by the Venetians in their boats, and others who had posted themselves on the bridge. The battle was long, bloody, and doubtful, till the Venetians employed all their power to break down the bridge; which, at last, yielded to their obstinate endeavours, and a prodigious slaughter of the French ensued; however, they fought like men in despair, seeing no hopes of safety but in victory; all communication, however, with the troops on shore, being cut off, they were to a man either killed or drowned. The number of slain was so great, that the space between the Rialto and Malamock was covered with dead bodies, and has ever since gone by a name expressive of the prodigious slaughter. Pepin was so struck with the intrepidity of the Venetians, that he raised the siege, abandoned the enterprise, and concluded a peace with the republick: he afterwards came to Venice, and requested that Obelerio might be restored, and, out of respect to so great a prince, his request was complied with. But he had no sooner withdrawn, than the people suspecting Obelerio, tore his body in pieces, and scattered his limbs and bowels about the city. His wife shared the same fate; for as she was the sister of Pepin, it was not doubted but her influence was the cause

A. D. 804.

of her husband's perfidy. Obelerio was succeeded by angelo Participatio, Justiniano, Giovanni, Pietro Tradonico—an excellent but unfortunate prince, Orso Participatio, Giovanni Participatio, and Pietro Candiano.

During the government of Pietro Tribuno, the seventeenth doge, the Hunns, having defeated Berengarius, entered Italy. Induced by the wealth of the Venetian republick, they resolved to sack and pillage the city. Marching through the maritime provinces, they burned Villa Nuova, Jesuola and Chioggio, and prepared to attack the Rialto, which they imagined must yield to their prodigious numbers. Pietro Tribuno omitted nothing which became a great general: he placed strong guards round the city, fortified the places most exposed, equipped a fleet with incredible dispatch, and harassed the enemy by perpetual sallies. His activity, presence of mind, and skill, were astonishing. He animated the troops by his example; was the foremost in every attack; in a word, was the life and soul of the state. The Hunns, preparing to make a general assault, Pietro, after a short and animating speech, ordered the soldiers to be embarked, and immediately bore down upon the enemy near Albiola. The battle began with fury, and continued with obstinacy for several days; the fleets separated at night, the combatants returning next day to the charge with fresh vigour: the Venetians every where opposed courage to numbers, and the doge performed prodigies of valour. At last, Tribuno, fearing that the spirit of his men might sink under the multitude of the enemy, collected all his force, resolving to die or make an impression

A. D. 903.

upon their line. He was so bravely seconded by his troops, that the barbarians were broken and defeated, and a general carnage ensued. The sea was covered with dead bodies, and the Venetians fought, says Blondus, upon heaps of the slain barbarians, as upon dry land; the siege was raised, the Hunns were driven from Italy, and the reputation of Venice for arms became famous over the world. Never were valour, conduct, and perseverance, more conspicuous. Pietro Tribuno was succeeded by Urso Bodoairio, Pietro Candiano the second, Pietro Participatio, and Pietro Candiano, the third of that name, and the twenty-first doge.

Candiano was scarcely established in his authority, when every part of the Adriatick was covered with the ships of the Narentines and other piratical states. Shame and revenge took possession of every Venetian breast: a fleet was manned with all expedition, and sent in quest of the pirates, who, being distributed in single ships, or small squadrons, were unable to resist so strong an armament: they, therefore, submitted to the clemency of the republick, and were pardoned, on condition they would repair all the damage sustained by the Venetians, pay an annual tribute, and give security for their future behaviour. The doge had now taken for his colleague Pietro, his second son, a young man of a factious, turbulent, and impetuous spirit. It was at last found necessary to banish him from the city, and Pietro, after wandering about for some time, had recourse to Vido, son and successor of Berengarius, who furnished him with six large armed gallies, to make war upon his father and his country.

A. D. 943.

Without remorse or feeling, he commenced hostilities, took, plundered, and destroyed all the Venetian shipping, and committed such enormities as broke his good old father's heart.

Yet was Candiano scarce dead, when the capricious voice of the people recalled Pietro, and, with extraordinary pomp, conferred upon him the supreme authority. But they soon received the just reward of their folly and perjury, for they had sworn never to recal him; nor did he long enjoy a dignity which he owed not to his merit. He was guilty of every vice of which the human heart is capable, and was soon sacrificed to the resentment of the people. After him, Pietro Urseolo, Vitalis, Tribuno Memio, Pietro Urseolo the second, Otho Urseolo, Pietro Centranigo, Dominico Flabenico, Domonico Contarini, Dominico Selvo, Vitalis Faliero, Vitalis Michaeli, and Ordelapho Faliero, successively attained the sovereign power.

Under the government of Ordelapho, who was the thirty-fourth doge, two dreadful fires destroyed a great number of houses in Venice, consumed whole streets, and laid waste sixteen of the islands on which the city stood. Venice, however, received new lustre from the fire, and seemed to rise with additional elegance and grandeur from its ashes. About this time, several towns of Dalmatia, which had been seized by the king of Hungary, were recovered by the doge, who also crossed the mountains into Croatia, and wholly subdued it; whence the republick assumed the title of lords of Croatia. But again the Hungarians entered Dalmatia, and Ordelapho lost no time to oppose them; but fitting out a fleet with the utmost expedition, he landed A. D. 1089.

his troops and engaged the enemy. The conflict was violent, victory, for a long time, declaring for neither side: at last, the doge, incensed at the resistance of an enemy so often conquered by the Venetians, broke in upon their ranks with a chosen body of troops, and would certainly have brought the battle to a favourable issue, had he not unhappily been wounded mortally. The Venetians now retreated, were pursued by the enemy, and totally defeated; their wounded and prisoners were also cruelly butchered by the Hungarians. Peace was, soon after, concluded.

Dominico Micheli, the successor of Ordelapho, at the request of the pope's nuncio, went, with a fleet of sixty gallies, to the Holy Land, where he raised the siege of Joppa, and reduced Tyre, taking such immense booty as more than reimbursed the expenses of the expedition. In his re-
A. D. 1124. turn, he took Rhodes and Chios, whence he carried off the body of St. Isidore; then seized upon Samos, Lesbos, Andros, and all the other islands of the Archipelago; and recovered Zara, Spolatra, and Trahu, places in Dalmatia which had revolted during the preceding administration. Pietro Polani, Dominico Morosini, Vitalis Michaeli the second, and Sebastino Ziani, were his successors.

Ziani, the thirty-ninth doge, was no sooner elected, than the republick was involved in a war with Frederick Barbarossa, from whose persecution the pope Alexander had retired to Venice. The Venetians dispatched ambassadors to the emperor, who answered them in a rage, "Go, and tell your prince and people, that Frederick, the Roman emperor, demands his enemy, who is protected by them. If they send him not in-

stantly, bound hand and foot, he will overturn every law, human and divine, to accomplish his revenge; he will bring his army before their city, and fix his victorious standards in their market-place, which shall float in the blood of its citizens." The ambassadors returning with this terrible menace, it was agreed to equip a fleet with all expedition, and prepare for repelling the emperor's meditated vengeance. While the Venetians were thus employed, Otho, the emperor's son, entered the gulf with a strong squadron of seventy-five gallies, and was making sail to the city. The doge resolved to oppose him with the few ships which were fit to put to sea: the fleets met off the coast of Istria, and a dreadful battle ensued, the event of which was, that the doge took, sunk, and destroyed forty-eight of the enemy's ships, and returned in triumph to Venice. From this time, was continued the ceremony of marrying the sea: the pope going out to meet the victorious doge, presented him with a ring, saying, "Take, Ziani, this ring, and give it to the sea, as a testimony of your dominion. Let your successors annually perform the same ceremony, that posterity may know your valour has purchased their prerogative, and subjected this element even as a husband subjecteth his wife." Otho being taken prisoner in the battle, and conceiving the highest esteem for Ziani, not only prevailed with his father to conclude a peace with the republick, but to visit a city so famed for commerce and naval power. Ziani, soon after, on account of his age, retired to a monastery, and was succeeded by Orio Mastropietro, Henrico Dandolo (under whose conduct the Venetians, with A. D. 1173.

the French, reduced Constantinople, and made Baldwin emperor), Pietro Ziani, Jiacomo Thiepolo, Marino Morosini, and Riniero Zeno.

During the government of Riniero, who was A. D. 1262. the forty-fifth doge, the Venetian admiral Dandolo, completely defeated the Genoese, under the famous Michael Doria. It was the first trial of valour and skill the two republicks had ever made, the event of which gave the Venetians that superiority at sea, which they maintained for a number of years. Riniero was succeeded by Lorenzo Thiepolo, Jiacomo Contarini, and Giovanno Dandolo.

Under the dogeship of Pietro Gradonico, who was the forty-ninth of the Venetian princes, war took place with the Genoese, who sent to sea a strong fleet, under the command of Lampadio Doria, with intention to lay siege to the city of Venice. An engagement ensued with the Venetian fleet, commanded by Dandolo, which was at last defeated, if that can be called a defeat, when scarce a sufficient number of the conquerors remain to report the news of the A. D. 1291. victory. Dandolo was taken prisoner, and so much was he affected by the disgrace of having yielded up the honour he acquired in the last war, that in the agony of despair, he dashed out his brains against the side of the cabin where he was confined. Five years after this, a dreadful conspiracy was formed at Venice, by Baimonti Thiepolo, to murder the doge, council, and senate; to assume the government, and rule with arbitrary sway; and to divide, among the conspirators, the property and the power of the deceased. But upon the day fixed for the execution of their wicked purpose, notice

of it was sent to the doge by an unknown hand. The conspirators, who had already assembled, were attacked, and Baimonti, in endeavouring to escape, was knocked down by a large stone a woman let fall from her window; the rest were almost all either taken or killed. This happy delivery from oppression is, till this day, yearly commemorated at Venice. Riniero was succeeded by Morini Georgi, and Giovanni Souranza.

Francisco Dandolo was the fifty-second doge. During his government, the people of Escala became dangerous to all the surrounding states: led by Mastin, their prince, they annoyed the commerce of Venice. But having for some time, carried on a war of treachery, Mastin was defeated, his tyranny suppressed, and those cities which he had acquired by rapine, fraud, and oppression, were torn from the usurper, and restored to the just proprietors. A. D. 1337.

After Bartolomeo Gradonico, Andrea Dandolo next succeeded to the ducal chair; and war commenced with Genoa. The command of the Venetian fleet was given to Marco Rusino, who joining the Arragonian fleet, of forty sail, went in quest of the Genoese admiral, Grimaldi. The two fleets met on the Sardinian coast. Rusino ordered his ships to grapple with the enemy, and then chained them to each other in such a manner, that there was a necessity either to conquer or die. Thus a kind of land battle was fought upon the sea, in which there was no room for disputing the victory, the whole Genoese fleet having been either taken or destroyed, Grimaldi's ship alone escaping. When the news

A. D. 1347. of this defeat arrived at Genoa, the whole city was in the utmost consternation. In their despair, the Genoese sent ambassadors to the duke of Milan, requesting his protection and acceptance of the sovereignty of their dominions; an offer which he did not decline.

Soon after the promotion of Marino Faliero, the fifty-fifth doge, the Venetians were in their turn defeated. Their commander, Pisani, with five thousand of his men, were made prisoners, and above twenty of their gallies were sunk. The republick sustained an irreparable loss, and the city would probably have been undone, had the victorious Doria known as well how to pursue as to gain a victory. The Venetians were equally surprised and overjoyed when the news arrived that he was returned to Genoa, at a time they every hour expected him before their gates. A truce was immediately concluded, but it did not secure happiness to Venice; the doge him-

A. D. 1353. self conspired against her freedom. Seized with a violent desire of absolute authority, he began his design by popular acts, and gave entertainments to the lower orders of people. When he perceived that the populace listened to him with attention, he began to drop hints of his determination to deliver them from the tyranny of the senate, and for that purpose, to assume a greater latitude of power, after which it should be left to their choice to continue him or not, as they found him deserving. His proposal was to murder the chief persons of the assembly, senate, and seignory, who had raised him to the dignity he possessed. The first of April was appointed for

the execution of this infamous plot; but, on that very day, Beltrand, a conspirator, went to the house of Nicholas Leon, and made an ample discovery. Leon was so confounded with horror at the action, that, for some time, he was unable to reply; at last, ordering Beltrand to be confined, he dispatched messengers to the chief senators, the seignory, and officers of the city, to come instantly to his house. The doge and the conspirators were quickly seized and put to death, and a pension settled upon the discoverer. Venice was then successively governed by Giovanni Gradonico, Giovanni Delfino, Lorenzo Celso, and Marco Cornaro.

During the government of Cornaro, the fifty-ninth doge, the inhabitants of Candia revolted. They were excited by their countryman Calergo, who declared against the oppression of the Venetians, the pusillanimity of the Greeks, and the vile subjection in which the natural lords of the islands were kept; insisting on the weakness of the republick, and the strength of the island, if they would exert that spirit for which their forefathers were famous. Calergo was successful; he set up the Greek standard, exhorting every man, inspired with the love of his country, to enlist in the cause of freedom, and a numerous army was soon raised. But they were defeated by the Venetians, Calergo was put to death, and peace concluded. A. D. 1365.

Andrea Contarini had scarcely succeeded to the ducal chair, when war took place with Francisco Carrario of Padua, who, after being completely defeated, concluded a dishonourable peace. Leopold of Austria, having invaded the Trevisan, was also defeated, and forced to make

peace. But war again occurred with Genoa. Forty ships were equipped by the Venetians, and the command given to Victor Pisani, who, soon after, attacked the Genoese fleet, under Ludovico Fiesco. Upon the approach of the fleets, the sky was in an instant darkened with a cloud of arrows; but this kind of fighting was soon laid aside for the sword and the pike; they boarded, and an obstinate battle continued for two hours, when the Genoese were obliged to yield to the bravery of the Venetians. And as the Genoese admiral, with his whole fleet, fell into Pisani's hands, he the less regretted his loss, although his son was among the number of the slain. This good fortune, however, did not continue long; Pisani fell into an ambuscade laid by the enemy; he fought with all imaginable courage, but was defeated by the Genoese. Soon after, he was recalled by the doge and senate, and thrown into prison. While the republick was thus divided, the Genoese reaped the fruits of her dissentions. Caorli, Grada, Pelestrina, and Chioggia, fell into their hands. The people now rose tumultuously, threatened the doge and senate, and refused to enlist themselves for the defence of a city in which, they said, they were slaves to caprice, ignorance, and cowardice: they were not to be appeased by any authority, until Pisani was set at liberty. Their desire was complied with, and the joy of the people was extreme. When he came forth from his prison, the tumult, noise, and disturbance, redoubled. He went to the senate and threw himself at the doge's feet, who raising him up, addressed him thus: "You were imprisoned, Victor, by our

A. D. 1378.

order for the loss sustained by the republick, at Pola, under your conduct; you are released that you may repair the disgrace. Restrain your fire, exert your judgment, and use caution, without which the greatest virtues in a general are but splendid vices, which often terminate in his own shame and the ruin of his country. Go! and may you prove equally the terror of her enemies, as you are the darling of the republick."

The siege of Venice was soon raised, the Genoese were defeated, and peace concluded. The prisoners, however, on both sides, were in a deplorable condition, above two-thirds having perished from the stench and filth of the jails; the remainder were sickly, half starved, and quite naked. The Venetian matrons made a collection, to clothe the Genoese prisoners, and to defray their expenses home; an act of generosity which was by no means imitated at Genoa: there, according to the Venetian writers, the prisoners were turned out, loaded with disease, famished, and naked; suffered to beg their way home; and, what was still more barbarous, reviled, buffeted, and abused through the streets.

Micheli Morosini succeeded Andrea Contarini, and, from this period, the meridian power and prosperity of Venice may be dated.

CHAP. II.

War with the Milanese; Siege of Brescia; League of Cambray, &c.

THE first act of the government of Antonio Veniero, the sixty-second doge of Venice, was exerted against his own son, who had carried on an intrigue, for some time, with a senator's wife. The lovers at last quarrelling, Ludovico (so he was called), to revenge himself on his mistress, procured a pair of horns to be hung over the senator's door, a reproach not to be forgiven in Venice. Inquiry being made, Ludovico was found guilty of affronting a senator, and by his father sent to prison, where he died.

During the government of Micheli Steno, war was declared against Genoa, and a dreadful battle took place between the hostile fleets. Heaps of slain were thrown over-board on both sides, and the battle seemed equal, until Zeno, the Venetian commander, crouding sail, ran foul of the opposite ship, and sunk her with the impetuosity and rapidity of his course. Several of the officers followed his example with equal success, which turned the scale of fortune, and gained the victory. The Genoese lost near three thousand men, four ships were sunk, and three taken.

A. D. 1403.

In the mean time, the republick found herself at war on the continent with Novello Carrario. The camp of the Venetian general Sabello was

attacked in the night by Tertius, the second son of Francisco Carrario, at the head of a strong body of troops. The onset was so sudden and vigorous, that the whole camp was in the utmost consternation, the soldiers running up and down terrified and half asleep: Sabello alone was calm and undaunted; with an unparalleled presence of mind, he led them to the charge. Unable to resist his impetuosity, the enemy precipitately fled. Sabello resolved to bring on a general action, and by the force of stratagem and superior capacity, he so hemmed in Carrario that he was under the necessity of fighting or of surrendering at discretion. The first was his choice; he was defeated with prodigious slaughter, and very narrowly escaped being made a prisoner. Verona was now taken, and Padua besieged. Insolence in prosperity is ever succeeded by meanness in adversity: Carrario now supplicated with tears the protection of those very persons whom he had insulted in the beginning of the war. Himself and family were brought to Venice, where he and they were, soon after, strangled for planning their escape, by setting fire to the city. Thus ended the sway of a tyrant, ambitious of power only to abuse it by insolence.

At the close of the war, a magnificent embassy came to Venice from Verona, consisting of forty persons of the first distinction in the city. The senate ordered a fine theatre to be erected, richly adorned for their reception: here the doge, attended by his whole family in their richest apparel, and by the senate and magistrates in their robes, gave them audience. The ambassadors, walking in procession to the throne, laid

the keys of the city at the feet of the doge, requesting his acceptance, and praying that the event might be prosperous to his highness, to the republick, and to the city of Verona. To this address, the doge replied, "That it was his and the senate's greatest happiness to be able to protect the weak, comfort the afflicted, and reward the deserving: that while the city of Verona preserved her present sentiments, she might confidently rely on the friendship of the republick, and enjoy all the blessings which liberty and a free constitution can afford to those who have just escaped from tyranny and bondage." Then recommending justice, equity, and moderation, the ambassadors were dismissed. Micheli Steno was succeeded by Tomaso Moncenigo, and Francisco Foscari.

Foscari was the sixty-fifth duke of Venice. During his government, war took place with Philip Visconti, of Milan. Carmagnola, the Venetian general, marched straight to the siege of Cremona, but was met on his way by the army of Philip, commanded by himself. Both sides joined battle with the utmost alacrity and vigour: they fought from noon till night, and no advantage was gained. In the evening, a storm of wind arising, drove before it such clouds of dust, as rendered it impossible for the soldiers to distinguish each other: friends were known from enemies only by the word of battle. An advanced party of Philip's army thinking to retire out of this confusion, found themselves in the middle of the Venetian camp, where they were made prisoners. At last, both generals ordered a retreat to be sounded, each claiming

A. D. 1427.

the victory, and perhaps with equal reason. Carmagnola used jocosely to say, that at the battle of Sama, Philip and he took more of their own soldiers prisoners than of the enemy. The Milanese, however, were soon after totally defeated, and a peace concluded.

The war, however, was afterwards renewed in defence of the Florentines; on which occasion Carmagnola tampered with the chief officer of Socinna, that the place might be delivered to him, at a certain time agreed upon. The governor had no sooner touched Carmagnola's money, than he sent secret intelligence of the transaction to Philip, who gave immediate orders to march with all possible secrecy, to seize on all the passes, and lay a strong ambuscade for the Venetians. The troops were dispatched to take possession of the place on the day appointed, Carmagnola remaining with the army, at some little distance; they no sooner entered the town than they were surrounded by a body of the Milanese, who had been admitted and concealed, while, at the same time, the main army under Carmagnola was attacked so suddenly, and with such vigour, that it was quickly defeated, the general with difficulty making his escape. Thus Carmagnola was taken in his own snare, with the loss of a thousand horse, and the precipitate disorderly retreat of his whole army. To add to his mortification, he was upbraided by the governor, as a shallow superficial plotter, a pretender to skill in the human heart, the baseness of which he estimated by the corruption of his own. The Venetians, soon after, received two successive defeats. A. D. 1431.

But as Philip's fleet was commanded by a Genoese admiral, and chiefly manned by Genoese, the senate now determined to carry war into the centre of their territories. Eighteen gallies were equipped, and the command given to Pietro Loretano: these were joined by five from Florence. The Genoese had prepared, for their defence, a fleet of twenty-four gallies, commanded by Francis Spinola. When the fleets descried each other, Spinola, having the advantage of the wind, ordered his fleet to bear down upon the enemy, which circumstance Loretano observing, thought it advisable to decline battle, until the curvature of the coast should give him the weather-gage. The Genoese admiral attributing his retreat to fear, gave chase, and was just astern, when Loretano put the helm round, engaged with intrepidity, and was bravely received by Spinola. After an obstinate conflict, the Venetians having grappled with eight Genoese gallies, took them, together with the admiral, whose fate produced a decisive victory.

During these transactions at sea, the war went on briskly in Lombardy. A few days after the last battle, fought by Carmagnola on the Po, a scheme for surprising Cremona was proposed by the brave Cavalcobovis, a Venetian officer. In the middle of October, this gentleman set out, about midnight, from the camp, with a body of troops, concealing himself among the sedges and rushes which surrounded the moat at the foot of the walls. As soon as day-light appeared, and the sentinels went off guard, he applied scaling ladders to the ramparts, which his troops mounted unobserved: another corps,

which had seasonably arrived to his support, followed, leaving a strong guard on the ladders, in order that Carmagnola might send further reinforcements. He then marched into the city, seized upon several guards, repulsed the inhabitants who opposed him, and took possession of the nearest gate: here he maintained his ground for eight hours, in spite of all the efforts of a numerous garrison, who attacked him from every quarter. He sent repeated messengers to Carmagnola to acquaint him with his success, and to request that he would enter at the gate he had kept open for him; but Carmagnola, pretending apprehension of some treachery, hesitated so long, that Cavalcobovis, unable longer to sustain the enemy, abandoned the city. Carmagnola was soon after convicted of a treasonable correspondence by his own letters, and beheaded. Winter now approached, and peace was concluded.

Two years afterwards, the Venetians again made war against the duke of Milan, in behalf of pope Eugenius. Picinino, the general of Philip, attempted to shut up the Venetian general Mellato in Brescia, where, in a little time, for want of provisions, he must have been obliged to surrender. Mellato determined to hazard every thing to avoid surrendering by famine, and proposed to lead his troops over the mountains to Verona. Nothing in history exceeds the difficulty of this march, which was equal to Hannibal's over the Alps. The army set out from Brescia at midnight, and, after two days march, halted to refresh themselves on the top of a mountain. On the

A. D. 1434.

evening of the third day, they descended to the plain, on the banks of the river Sasca, and, on the fourth morning, they saw the opposite bank covered with Picinino's troops: they were likewise attacked in the rear by the bishop of Trent, who, by this time, had collected an army greatly superior to Mellato's. In this extremity, the Venetians were relieved by the courage and conduct of a subaltern officer, who proposed that, in the night, torches should be tied to their lances, and the army march as if determined to attempt the passage of the river. The enemy, who defended the pass by which it was designed to escape, observed the Venetians make towards the river, and doubted not that their intention was to open themselves a way through it by the sword. Without hesitation they poured down from the mountains to attack Mellato in the rear; but they no sooner moved than Pilosus seized upon their post, with a small party, and made a signal for the rest of the forces that he was in possession. Immediately a shout of joy was heard all over the army, and the enemy, perceiving their mistake, endeavoured to regain the pass; but they were received by Pilosus with a courage equal to his conduct, and repulsed with great slaughter. Meanwhile, Mellato crossed the river without opposition, and found himself in a plentiful country. The change was regarded as a paradise, and Pilosus as a tutelary angel both by general and soldiers. He, soon after, was promoted to the rank of centurion, and recommended to the senate as the preserver of the Venetian army.

Picinino, in the mean time, laid siege to

Brescia, which Barbaro the governor, and some of the chief officers, determined to defend till the last extremity. It was resolved that Donato, the chief magistrate, should keep open table, and generously entertain all degrees of men that they might the better support the fatigues of the siege, and more securely be fixed in their allegiance to the republick; and that Barbaro, who was the highest military magistrate, should, by the same means, animate and support the garrison. Barbaro omitted nothing which could prompt them to their duty; he even feigned letters and messages of speedy succour promised him, by which stratagem, and by his own example, he so animated the soldiers, that there was not among them an individual who would not have perished rather than submit. Even women laboured with indefatigable industry in repairing the breaches. But, at last, disease and famine had almost produced, what neither the power nor the skill of the enemy could effect. To obviate this evil, proclamation was made for all those who were unable or unwilling to bear arms to retire from the city. In consequence of this intimation, the city became almost desolate; but the courage of those who remained was unappalled. The walls round the tower Mombellane were now levelled to the ground. Three successive days did Picinino lead on his troops to the assault, and thrice his soldiers, unable to withstand the fury of Barbaro, were broken and defeated.

A league was now concluded between the Venetians, Florentines, and Sforza, formerly the general of Philip. While this league was in agi-

tation, a very extraordinary proposal was made to the senate, by Sorbolla, a native of Candia, of carrying a fleet, overland, to the lake Benack, for the relief of Brescia. Sorbolla was a mechanick, of a busy, enterprising, and projecting disposition; but withal, ingenious and sensible. The scheme was, at first, received as an impracticable and wild whim of the imagination, suggested by folly and madness: but, after the senate had perused and weighed Sorbolla's memorial, they began to entertain some notion of the proposal, and a high opinion of the projector. At length, the experiment was resolved upon, and the conduct of the whole committed to the artist, who immediately set to work. He first had the fleet, consisting of two gallies, three galliots, and twenty-five small vessels, towed up against the stream of the river Adige, to Verona, and thence to Mora. By land, the ships were moved by engines, upon rollers of a smooth hard wood, for the space of six miles, from Mora to the lake of St. Andrew's. At length, three months after he left Venice, he arrived at Torbolles with his fleet, to the infinite fatigue of himself, and the amazement of all who beheld him. Before his arrival, the siege of Brescia was raised, and Sorbolla's expedition was attended only with advantage to himself, who was well rewarded for his ingenuity.

Avogadre, a native of Brescia, was soliciting the senate, for the relief of his brave countrymen, and the doge earnestly exhorting them to send immediate supplies, when a messenger arrived from Barbaro, with the joyful intelligence that the siege was raised. Neither Foscari, the senate, nor Avogadre, could credit the messen-

ger, before they had read Barbaro's dispatches: they were then struck with amazement and admiration, at the obstinate valour of the garrison. The whole city was in a blaze with bonfires, and a joy appeared every where equal to what might have been expected had Venice itself been relieved from a siege. A reward was sent to every individual in the garrison; the wives of the dead were ordered to be supported at the publick charge, and particular honours decreed to Barbaro and the other officers. During the siege of Brescia, Mellato had not been idle. His first care was, to try every measure to succour Brescia; but they all proving fruitless, he reduced Burgo and Corvario: here the brave Pilosus received a contusion, of which he died, before the arrival of physicians and surgeons sent to his assistance by the senate. The grief was general for the loss of this hero, though of private rank: his body was brought to Venice, and interred at the publick expense. Such were the many examples of publick honours, bestowed upon private subjects of valour and merit by that wise and politick state.

Although Picinino had raised the siege of Brescia, yet were the Brescians infested by perpetual incursions: the passes, by which they could receive provision and forage, were shut up; money was scarce, as the Venetians had remitted none for several months, so exhausted were the finances of the republick; and, to crown their misery, disease and famine prevailed to a great degree. In this situation, Barbaro was indefatigable, his spirit invincible, and his invention inexhaustible: he raised money A. D. 1438.

upon his own credit for the payment of his troops; laid in great store of chesnuts, roots, and fruits, to supply the want of wheat and corn; he deceived his own troops and the enemy, by feigned letters and correspondences; he conversed affably with all degrees of the inhabitants, and liberally spent his fortune in their support; his house was open to relieve the hungry of every rank; he procured troops of horse to enter the city in the night, with bags stuffed with hay, to persuade the inhabitants into a hope of fresh supplies, and then, the next day, made a distribution of wheat and barley, which he had reserved for his own use; he carried his patriotick artifice so far, as to have arrows, with scrolls of paper, stuck at night in some of the high towers and steeples, as if they had been shot by his friends without, to acquaint him with their intentions of affording him speedy relief. At last, this service was happily effected by Sforza's defeating Picinino, and destroying his army. Peace was, soon after, concluded with Philip.

War, however, was soon renewed, and on the death of Philip, a treaty again entered into between Venice and Milan. To this treaty Sforza would not accede, but declared war against both; when at last the Milanese, conquered by famine, and starved into submission, murdered Venieri, the Venetian ambassador, and saluted Sforza prince, opening their gates, and receiving him with the same demonstrations of joy they would have expressed for the son of their lawful sovereign. Thus, by a change as sudden as amazing, he instantly became the protector of a peo-

ple, he had but the day before persecuted with all the rancour of an inveterate enemy. War was now vigorously carried on between the Venetians and Milanese. But after a short campaign, of various success, peace was concluded. A. D. 1450.

After a glorious administration of thirty-four years, Foscari, at the age of ninety, was deposed as superannuated; an instance of ingratitude consistent, perhaps, with the measures of sound policy, but very contradictory to the dictates of humanity. He was a prince of a noble and pleasing aspect, possessed a wonderful memory, flowing eloquence, ready wit, and sound judgment. At this remarkable age, he enjoyed good health, the perfect use of his limbs and faculties, remembered every incident from his childhood, had a sweetness, and at the same time, a majesty and authority in his manner, that equally commanded love and respect. He had greatly extended the power and dominions of the republick, and was no less loved by his subjects, than esteemed and feared by strangers and his neighbours; yet was this valuable and venerable prince sacrificed to the politicks of an ungrateful multitude. He was no sooner divested of the supreme authority, than leaving the palace with indignation, he retired to a private house, where, falling ill with grief, he died universally lamented and esteemed. Foscari was succeeded in the dogeship, by Pasqual Malipiero, Christophoro Mora, Nicolao Trono, Nicolao Marcello, Pietro Moncenigo, Andrea Vendramino, and Giovanni Moncenigo, during all of whose reigns a vigorous war was carried on with the Turks.

While Giovanni Moncenigo was doge, they besieged Croia. The assault was furious, and the defence valiant; Antonio Legiero, the proveditor who commanded in chief, omitted nothing which was the duty of an experienced and good officer. The Turks shot such quanti-
A. D. 1477. ties of arrows in the different assaults, that the garrison for months used no other fuel. The moats round the town were filled with heaps of slain, which produced a stench intolerable to the besiegers, and was one cause of Mahomet's relinquishing the enterprise, after several attempts to cleanse it, in which he was boldly attacked, and forced to retire. Meanwhile, Mahomet had detached thirty thousand men, to enter Italy, by the fords of Livornia, which, being guarded, they proposed to enter Germany, and accordingly proceeded, horse and foot, over Alpine mountains almost impracticable, drawing up or letting down a body of twelve thousand horse, over the rocks, by means of engines. Determined to pursue their march, though opposed by the natives, they began climbing the mountains, by means of hooks and grapples, the sight of which so terrified the natives, that they abandoned their posts, and fled. Peace was soon after concluded with the Turks; and war denounced against the pope, and the duke of Ferrara.

During this war, the Venetian admiral took
A. D. 1484. Gallipoli, in which enterprise he lost his life. He was animating the troops in the scalade, praising the valiant, and upbraiding the backward, when he dropt; his secretary threw a cloak on his body, and gave out that Marcello was slightly hurt, and gone to

be dressed: the assault was persevered in, and the town was in consequence taken.

After Marco Barbarigo, his brother Agostino succeeded to the ducal chair, during whose administration, Cyprus was annexed to the republick, and the wealth, grandeur, and power of Venice still increased. A league was now entered into, between the emperor, Spain, the pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, against the king of France. The confederates attempted to hem Charles up at Asti, who there sent to them demanding a free passage, and assuring them of the regularity of his troops. The Taro, a rapid stream, fortified on one side by the confederates, with a number of batteries, separated the two armies; and as no answer was returned to his message, Charles ordered his van to pass the river, in spite of the enemy's fire from the opposite batteries. John Trivulcio, with one hundred lances, four thousand Swiss infantry, and three hundred archers with cross-bows on horseback, formed the van; Charles, in person, commanded the main body which followed, and the count de Foix brought up the rear. Before Trivulcio had crossed the river, Gonzaga, at the head of five thousand infantry and six hundred men at arms, passed by a ford higher up, in order to attack the king's rear, ordering certain corps, under the proveditors, to charge him in flank: this motion obliged the French to face about, when immediately a sharp action began. Gonzaga pressed on with great resolution, and was as bravely received and repulsed in several charges; but still renewing his attacks, the enemy were put into confusion, and the king's person endangered. Charles, however, was saved

by the intrepidity and gallant conduct of his troops, who flocked round for his defence; so that here the battle was pretty equal. On the other side, the marquis de Gies put the confederates in disorder, and would have totally defeated them, had not Gonzaga in time repassed the Taro, and come to their relief. Here the battle ceased, victory declaring for neither side, though the king's intention of crossing the Taro was frustrated. Next morning his majesty decamped without beat of drum. In this action, the loss of the confederates amounted to three thousand infantry, and near three hundred men at arms; a circumstance which gave the French room to claim the victory, as their loss did not exceed two hundred men at arms. On the other hand, the Venetians formed the same pretensions, and challenged the glory of the day, because, besides the king's being disappointed in his design of crossing the Taro, they had not only saved their own camp and baggage, but taken a considerable booty from the enemy, some rich apparel of the king's, and part of his artillery.

A. D. 1496.

Lewis XII. soon after succeeding to the crown of France, a peace was concluded, and a treaty entered into between the Venetians and Lewis, who laid claim to Naples and Milan. A French and Venetian army accordingly assembled. Sforza, terrified at their approach, sent his family into Germany, whither he was preparing to follow: this conduct determined the Milanese to acquaint him, by four of the chief citizens, that finding he distrusted their loyalty, they were resolved to submit to the French; and Ludovico having no farther hopes, set out, with five hun-

dred light horse, for Germany, having with tears taken leave of the citizens. Bernardino di Corte, with three thousand foot, in whom he confided, together with stores of arms, provisions, and money sufficient for a long defence, were left in the citadel; but Sforza was not gone three days before the ungrateful Bernardino, whom he had bred from a child, and loved as his son, basely betrayed the city into the hands of the French, who immediately proceeded against Cremona. Antonio Battaglioni, to whom Sforza had intrusted the defence of the citadel, being summoned to surrender, consented to betray his master for the sum of 150 pounds of gold, the rank of a gentleman of Venice, a house in the city, and another in the country near Padua. Cremona was accordingly annexed to the Venetian dominions. Sforza, however, soon after recovered his dominions in the Milanese, but was defeated and made prisoner, while besieging Novarra, and died in captivity. At his death, his brother Ascanio was released.

War mean while took place with the Turks, who took Modon, and all the other towns of the Morea, except Napoli. Agostino Barbarigo now died, Leonardo Loretano succeeded to the dogeship, and peace was concluded with the sultan Bajazet. But the league of Cambray was soon after formed, in which the pope, the king of France as duke of Milan, the king of Arragon and Naples, the republick of Florence, and the duke of Ferrara, agreed to a partition of the Venetian dominions. The duke of Savoy also afterwards embraced the league. Thus was the league of Cambray concluded, the most formidable confederacy Europe had ever beheld, and kept so

secret, that the senate had not the least suspicion of the impending storm. It is related, that the Venetian ambassador in France asked the king the purport of that long congress at Cambray, and received for answer the most solemn assurances, that nothing was intended against the republick, for which he had the sincerest esteem; an answer which the minister reported to the senate, and which tended to confirm their security. When the league was discovered, the French ambassador was instantly ordered to leave Venice, and Condelmere, the Venetian ambassador, was recalled. Lewis, on his departure, presented him with a gold chain of great value, which the ambassador refused, saying, that he never accepted the favours of those who were enemies to Venice.

A. D. 1508.

War was now declared by France against the Venetians; the progress of the confederates was rapid, and the republick was plunged into the deepest distress. At this period, a circumstance, attested by all historians, reflects great honour on the Venetians. They refused the assistance offered them by the grand seignor; and, though reduced to the utmost extremity, resolved to suffer every distress, rather than give their ancient enemies, the infidels, a footing in Italy. Such a noble spirit was alone wanting; the siege of Padua was quickly raised, and the Venetians recovered Vicenza. At last, however, Padua, distracted by differences among the leading citizens, was surrendered to the emperor, but soon after recovered. The Venetian general Gritti, having conveyed some choice troops into waggons covered with straw, under pretence

that they were a convoy of provisions, seized upon a gate of the city, and pursuing his advantage, got possession of Padua. The Imperialists made a vigorous defence; but Gritti, joined by the greater part of the inhabitants, totally defeated them, making near two thousand prisoners. Thus the republick once more became possessed of the most valuable city she had upon the continent. A treaty was soon after entered into between the pope and the Venetians, and the league was broken. A. D. 1511.

Julius II. then declared war against Lewis, and the duke of Ferrara. His army and the Venetian fleet invested Ferrara, at the siege of which the pope commanded in person. His holiness thinking his presence might animate the troops, entered the trenches, contrary to the remonstrances of the cardinals, and even of the Venetian officers, who could not help blushing to see the vicar of God preside at a siege, and view the effusion of human blood sacrificed to his ambition: indeed, he neglected nothing which could forward the work or distress the besieged. At last, a breach was effected, upon which the garrison hung out a flag of truce, and sent commissioners to his holiness with offers to submit, if he would only spare their lives; a request he was, with much difficulty, prevailed upon to grant.

An unsuccessful attempt was next made upon Genoa, and the French took possession of Bologna. In the following year, Julius, by his intrigues, drew over Ferdinand king of Arragon, to his party. About the same time, Christopher Frangipani, the emperor's lieutenant in Istria, made an attempt upon Maglia, which he hoped

to terrify into submission: he came with a small body of troops before the walls, in the night, and ordering a great number of trumpets and warlike instruments to be sounded, as if the town was invested by a numerous army, he immediately summoned the Venetian governor to surrender; but was answered that day-light must first discover his authority, upon which he thought proper to retire, and conceal his weakness. Frangipani, a second time, took the field, and with greater force attacked Maglia, but he was wounded and defeated by Andrea Curani, who engaged him in a single combat, both armies being spectators. The Venetians likewise took Cremona, Bastia, and Brescia; the emperor now secretly signed the treaty with them, and Lewis offered terms of peace.

A. D. 1512.

CHAP. III.

Treaty with Lewis XII. Progress of the War in Italy. Consequences of the Rivalship between Charles V. and Francis I. A dreadful Plague in Venice. Conquest of the Morea; and Conclusion of Peace with the Porte.

A SEPARATE treaty was now concluded between the pope and the emperor, in opposition to which, another was entered into between the Venetians and Lewis. Meanwhile, Brescia fell into the hands of the Spaniards; yet they soon after found it necessary to surrender it to the Venetian commander, both on account of their own weakness, and on account of the affection which its inhabitants bore to the republick. However, fortune soon abandoned the Venetians; the Spaniards not only recovered Brescia, but took possession of Cremona and Bergamo. Alviana, the republican general, stormed Verona, and was repulsed. On the other hand, the Arragonian viceroy of Naples laid siege to Padua, and was forced to retire. He permitted his troops, however, to make incursions within sight of Venice, and even took an opportunity of insulting that capital, by ordering some cannon to be discharged at it. Alviana, after much entreaty, prevailed with the senate to permit him to take the first favourable opportunity of attacking them. But the viceroy, taking the advantage of a thick fog, decamped without beat of drum, and had marched some miles before A. D. 1513.

Alviana was aware. On the first intelligence, the Venetians were ordered to pursue and attack the enemy's rear; with much fury this was effected, but they were resolutely received, and, at last, totally routed. In the following year, however, Alviana, after taking some towns from the emperor, instead of amusing himself with repairing the fortifications, made a forced march, and attacked the enemy's head-quarters, at a time when they expected he was at the distance of twenty leagues: here he revenged his defeat, in the last campaign; for he totally dispersed the enemy, and took two thousand prisoners.

Upon the death of Lewis, Francis renewed the treaty with the Venetians, and another was entered into between the emperor, the pope, Ferdinand, the Swiss, and Sforza. Francis, soon after, passed the Alps, and surprised Prospero Colonna, who was encamped with two thousand men in the marquisate of Salusses; he afterwards pitched his camp at Marignan, to facilitate a junction with Alviana. The Swiss, knowing it was their business to fight before he was reinforced, struck their tents without beat of drum, and, in the most profound silence, advanced to surprise him. Alviana, who had come to the camp to concert the operations of the campaign, was at dinner with his majesty, when the constable of Bourbon entered the tent, and informed them that the Swiss army was in sight. Alviana mounted his horse, and flew to Lodi, to bring up some of the Venetian cavalry. The king had scarce time to range his army in the order of battle, when the attack began upon the artillery, defended by the lansquenets. Night came on

A. D. 1515.

before either the French, Germans, or Swiss, thought of sounding a retreat, and the fight still continued with the same impetuosity with which it was commenced. It was now almost impossible to quit the field, as the darkness of the night prevented the soldiers from distinguishing their own colours. The French advanced guard had suffered most, and was in great disorder; nor could they rally, as clouds of dust and smoke obscured the little glimmering light the stars afforded, and the roar of cannon drowned all the orders that could be given. The Swiss, who, as well as the French, wore white scarfs, could not distinguish each other: their surest attack was against the cavalry, which they knew to be wholly French; thus the horse was exposed to the greatest danger. The king's horse was wounded under him, and his armour pierced in several places. In this manner did the battle continue for four hours after sunset; when at length both sides, fatigued with action, were forced to desist and draw breath: every man remained under arms in the place where he chanced to stand. Francis found himself within fifty paces of the main body of the enemy; but the impossibility of removing his station, without running into greater hazards, determined him to remain in the same critical situation. All the precaution he could take was to extinguish a torch that was lighted near him, and to order all round his person to speak low, and omit those terms of respect by which he might be distinguished. He slept upon the ground in his armour, his head supported by a block of wood belonging to the carriage of a cannon.

At break of day, both armies rallied, and charged with fresh vigour. Alviana came opportunely to the relief of the French, and the Swiss retired in good order. After this battle, all the towns of the Milanese surrendered to the French. Brescia and Verona were next besieged, but both were raised by the emperor's approach, who immediately laid siege to Milan. An accident, however, soon occurred to check his career; the Swiss in the imperial army began to murmur, and demand their pay with a boldness that terrified Maximilian. Staffler, their colonel, came to the emperor's bed side, and demanded their stipend, in terms so disrespectful, that Maximilian could not help reproaching him with ill manners. Staffler answered, that "the Swiss wanted florins, not breeding; and that, if their engagements were not instantly fulfilled, they would embrace the offers of the constable of Bourbon." The army of Maximilian dispersed, and peace was, soon after, established.

A D. 1517.

Antonio Grimani, succeeding Loretano, was the seventy-sixth doge. Two years after Charles of Austria succeeded Maximilian, and both he and Francis formed pretensions to the empire. Colonna, the general of Charles, defeating the Venetians, took possession of Milan, which was sacked for ten days, and of Pavia, Parma, and Placentia. The imperialists were encamped at Bico, a village three miles from Milan, in a large park surrounded by a deep ditch, which rendered an attack extremely hazardous. Meanwhile, the Swiss in the French army became impatient on hearing that money for their pay was intercepted, and sent one of their principal officers

to the French general Lautreck, with three propositions, importing, that he would instantly pay them, discharge them, or lead them against the enemy. Lautreck remonstrated with the Swiss, but all the answer he could get was, "Money, a discharge, or a battle:" however, he obtained from them some little time to reconnoitre the enemy, and then prepared for the attack. No sooner did the trumpets sound, than the Swiss, despising danger, flew over the ditch, and prepared to mount the counterscarp: the consequence of this temerity was, that in the space of half an hour, they lost one thousand of their best troops. The second line, not daunted by the destruction of the first, marched on with equal intrepidity, and met the same fate, leaving in the fosse about two thousand soldiers, Albert de la Pierre their general, and four other officers of distinction. Such was the issue of the affair. Adrian VI. soon after joined in the league against France, and the Venetians by intrigue, were brought over. The constable of Bourbon also deserted the king.

Andrea Gritti was now promoted to the dogeship. The Swiss, revolting from the French, Bonnivet their general thought of nothing but repassing the Alps, and getting clear of Italy. The Imperialists stuck close to his rear, and charged him with great vigour. Bonnivet, being wounded, was carried off the field, the chevalier Bayard commanding in his stead, and resisting the enemy, with great intrepidity, until he lost his life. Meanwhile, the emperor seized upon the dutchy of Milan. A. D. 1524.

A treaty was soon after concluded at Cognack, between Francis, Clement VII. and the

Venetians, in opposition to the emperor. The Venetians now took Lodi, and with the other confederates, equipped a fleet, blocked up Genoa, and landing their forces, invested and took the city. They took also Cremona, while, at the same time, the Spanish fleet was defeated by Navarro. Stabia and Sorento, on the Neapolitan coast, were likewise stormed and taken; at last, the guns of the confederate fleet played with some success even on the walls of Naples. A herald was sent to summon the city. Moncada, who commanded for the emperor, instead of obeying the summons, marched out with two thousand foot and five hundred horse, to obstruct the enemy's approaches. A skirmish took place to the advantage of the Venetians, but they were not supported by the troops of his holiness, who had now made a secret agreement with the emperor. The pontiff was greatly overreached in this new convention; for having disbanded his army, he was left exposed to the mercy of the enemy; the consequence of which misconduct was the taking of Rome, the imprisonment of his person, and the entire ruin of his affairs.

A. D. 1527. On that occasion, the senate ordered the duke d'Urbino to march to the relief of Rome; but, arriving too late, he assembled a council, read the senate's instructions for the relief of the pontiff, and desired the advice of the principal officers concerning the possibility of the enterprise. It was the opinion of the proveditor Pisani and all the other officers, that the senate should be obeyed, and even a battle hazarded, if necessary. Vituri alone opposed this advice, for which he was, soon after, recalled, superseded and imprisoned.

Meanwhile, Lautreck took Alexandria, and the duke of Ferrara joined the allies. Lautreck took, also, Melfi and almost all the kingdom of Naples, laying siege to that city itself. An engagement, at this time, occurred between the opposite fleets, in which the confederates were victorious, and sailed triumphant into the harbour of Naples. But pestilence soon after attacked the French army; they were reduced to a handful, Lautreck died of grief, and the marquis de Salusses, who succeeded him in the command, decamped, and was besieged in Aversa, where he soon after capitulated. The duke of Brunswick now entered Italy with twelve thousand men; but, finding every town strongly garrisoned, and his army reduced by disease, he quickly retired into Germany. At length, upon the emperor's arrival in Italy, matters were finally adjusted. Ambassadors were sent to Bologna, to compliment his imperial majesty upon the general tranquillity he had so graciously restored. Charles made the ambassadors some valuable presents, which, on their return, were laid up in the treasury; all such gifts being esteemed the property of the publick. These marks of esteem the senate soon returned, by ordering the imperial army to have free quarters while it passed through the Venetian dominions. The governors of the cities kept open table for the officers, and the emperor's own table was supplied with the richest wines and most expensive delicacies, at the charge of the republick. A. D. 1530.

The Venetians were soon after solicited by the pope, to give assistance to the emperor in chastising the protestants; but the answer of the se-

nate was agreeable to the reputation they had acquired for moderation, wisdom, and justice. They represented to his holiness, the scandal it would bring upon the church to oppose arguments by arms; that it ill became the professors of reason and truth to avoid the trial and the candid discussion of points wherein reason and scripture could only be judges; that to persecute schismaticks, was the surest method to propagate their doctrines, since where force was used the people generally concluded justice was wanting.

Meanwhile, the emperor prepared for war with Solyman; and the Venetians were nearly involved in it. While Jeronimo Canalis, the proveditor, was convoying, with twelve gallies, a fleet of merchant ships bound for Syria and Alexandria, a Turkish squadron was descried, at some distance, giving chase, with a bloody flag at the main-mast-top. Canalis was greatly inferior in strength, yet determined to fight it to the last; he found means to gain the windward of the enemy, and attack them to great advantage. The battle was extremely obstinate; the gallies of Canalis and of the Turkish bashaw having frequently boarded each other. In the end, the superior skill of Canalis prevailed over numbers; the bashaw was made prisoner, four Turkish gallies sunk, and three taken. All the Venetian fleet rejoiced at the victory, and extolled the conduct and valour of Canalis; but the transaction excited other sentiments in the senate, who apprehended the consequences. An embassy was, therefore, sent to Solyman, to apologize for the late unfortunate transaction,

A. D. 1533.

with an offer to punish Canalis if required. But here the generosity of the infidel stood Canalis in more stead than the gratitude of his Christian countrymen. Solyman was angry at their proposal, and rejected it with disdain, saying, that the conduct of the Venetian admiral deserved the highest reward; and that it was a pity he did not serve a state able to pay a just regard to his merit. He then set the Venetian ships at liberty, in honour, he said, to Canalis, rather than regard to the embassy: a greatness of mind which filled the republick with shame and astonishment.

Francis I. now entered Italy with an army, and lighted up a war: he was desirous of conferring the Milanese on the duke of Orleans, and the emperor was no less desirous that it should be given to the duke d'Angoulême: so violent was Charles, that he offered to rest the decision on the issue of a single combat between himself and the French king. A. D. 1536.

In the following year, Barbarossa, the Turkish admiral, having landed twenty-five thousand men at Corfu, after wasting every thing with a barbarous fury, laid siege to the citadel, but was, soon after, repulsed. Meanwhile, the Venetian general Pessari, entered Scordona, by assault, put the garrison to the sword, dismantled the town, and razed the citadel. A treaty was, about this time, entered into between the pope, the emperor, and the Venetians. Barbarossa, soon after, attacked Candia, but was again defeated; and the Turkish army, at the same time, entering Dalmatia, were also defeated. An engagement likewise took place with the confederate and the Turkish fleet, in which the trea-

chery of Doria, the emperor's admiral, alone preserved them from ruin.

Gritti was succeeded by Pietro Lando, the seventy-eighth doge. Soon after his promotion, the Turks attacked and took Castelnuovo, and peace was concluded with Solyman. But the Venetians were involved in disputes with Ferdinand and the empire: the seizure of Maran, may be deemed the foundation of a future bloody war. Barbarossa was, at this time, ravaging the coast of Italy with a fleet of near two hundred sail. He took Reggio, but gave liberty to the prisoners, at the instance of Polin, the French envoy, who accompanied him. The terror of the Turkish arms had spread itself all over Italy, nor was Rome itself free from apprehensions. But Polin sent assurances, and dispersed proclamations round the country, that his incursions should be confined wholly to the imperial dominions.

A. D. 1541.

An event of some importance fell out towards the end of the year 1545; namely, a controversy with the Porte, concerning some districts in Dalmatia, which both sides claimed. The Sangiacks of Bosnia and Clissa insisted that a part of the territory of Zara, containing forty-nine villages, was really a dependency upon the fortresses of Nadin and Laurena, belonging to Solyman. The senate had recourse to the justice of Solyman; nor had they reason to repent of this measure: with a moderation and integrity becoming those who call themselves Christian princes, this great man ordered commissioners on both sides to be appointed, insisting upon their determining the dispute according to equity, without regard to power. The commissioners met, and

soon adjudged the lands in dispute to the Venetians, with which award Solyman was perfectly well satisfied.

Lando was succeeded by Francisco Donato, Marco Antonio Trevisiano, Francisco Veniero, Lorenzo Priuli, Jeronimo Priuli, and Pietro Loretano, during whose government Selim, who had succeeded Solyman, formed designs upon Cyprus. John Michis, A. D. 1569. a Jewish renegado, had so artfully insinuated himself into Selim's favour, that nothing was denied him: he urged the attack upon Cyprus so warmly, that it absolutely determined the sultan; but so far did the renegado attend to his own interest, as to obtain a promise from Selim of the investiture of the island; and so full was he of the idea of majesty, that he had standards and other regalia prepared, with this inscription, "Joseph, king of Cyprus," for he had altered his name with his religion. An ambassador accordingly arrived from Selim, demanding the island, which was of course refused. A treaty was soon after formed between Spain, the pope, and the Venetians.

Upon the death of Loretano, Lodovico Moncenigo (eighty-fifth doge) succeeded to the government. In the following August, the Turkish troops landed without resistance, at port Salina, in Cyprus, and attacked the city of Nicosia. Their commander summoned the city to surrender, and soon after stormed it, but was defeated. However, receiving a reinforcement, he resolved upon another assault, and bent his main strength against the fortress Podocatora, where he imagined it would least be expected. In this conjecture, he was not deceived; for the soldiers

who scaled the walls, found the guard securely asleep, the movements of the Turks, the preceding night, having possessed them with a full assurance that they intended raising the siege. Here a great number were killed without resistance: others alarmed with the noise, deserted their posts in the utmost consternation. The count de Roccas, whose quarters were at a little distance, upon the first notice of the attack, armed himself, and with a few attendants, flew to the place of action, where, plunging into the midst of danger, he was killed upon the spot. The courage of those around him was damped; they gave way, and fled with precipitation into the midst of the city. The Italian foot, who defended the three remaining bastions, behaved with incredible intrepidity; they every where defeated the enemy; but no sooner had they cut off one line, than it was replaced by fresh troops: they were at last forced to retire, exhausted and fatigued. The chief officer of the Turks now summoned the garrison, who at first retreated to the market-place, and next to the town-hall, to surrender; but during this parley, the Turks had broken open the gates, pouring in in crowds, putting all to the sword, and among the rest Dandolo, the governor, who now found that his abilities were exerted too late to be of use to himself or to his country. The bishop also was among the slain, together with a number of gentlemen of the first rank in the island. Many, however, breaking sword in had through the Turks, escaped to the neighbouring mountains. Upon this occasion, there was no species of cruelty, barbarous lust, insatiable avarice, or brutality, which the Turks did not commit: matrons,

young women, and children, were violated in the most open and scandalous manner. Old men were murdered in their beds, some in churches, and others in the arms of their wives or children, where they sought for protection, with a view to excite compassion. Those who escaped the sword, were reserved for a more miserable death, being dragged in chains, over heaps of their massacred relations, kindred, and countrymen, to perish in horrible dungeons.

Mustapha now marched to Famagosta, whither he ordered Dandolo's head to be carried upon a spear, in order to intimidate the Venetians, but it only inspired them with revenge. The A. D. Turk sent a trumpet to the garrison; but 1571. Baglioni returned him with an answer full of resolution and defiance. After great slaughter, the Turks carried their approaches to the bottom of the walls; upon which they set about filling the ditch with the utmost diligence, and the besieged left no means untried to oppose it. A kind of sconces were contrived by Johannes Mormeri, to defend them from the shot of the enemy; but he being unfortunately killed, the Turks became masters of the ditch: here they erected works to screen them from the fire of the garrison, placing before them large sacks of wool and earth. Thus covered, they began to sap the walls and open mines. At length, one under the parapet was fired, which blew up with such an explosion as equally terrified the besiegers and the besieged; but in assaulting, the Turks were bravely repulsed. They made five unsuccessful attempts.

On the eighth day after the last assault, a new mine was sprung, which blew up with so

much success, that several yards of the wall were entirely carried away, and a breach made sufficient to admit twenty men abreast. To this, both the assailants and the defendants flocked with a fury almost incredible. On this occasion, the women, children, and clergy, fought like soldiers, annoying the enemy with scalding water, burning sulphur, and pitch, with a fury not to be paralleled in history. In short, their enthusiastick courage surmounted every difficulty; and the Turks, astonished at so much bravery, found the garrison impregnable to human strength, and to be conquered only by delay. However, after their artillery had played for several days, with some success, upon the walls, another mine was sprung, by which the counterscarp was totally demolished. A body of four thousand janissaries was chosen to enter the breach, which they did with great intrepidity, being supported by another corps of six thousand select soldiers. After a violent conflict of three hours, the Turks remained in possession of the countercarp, the besieged being forced to abandon it through weariness and want of numbers. Of the enemy, however, two thousand had been blown up by the ingenious but horrible contrivance of Baglioni, who sprung a countermine as soon as they had mounted the breach. The Turks were indefatigable, they had now brought their whole camp to the very walls; nor were the defendants less assiduous in filling up all the breaches: females of the first fashion might be seen sweating under loads of earth, heavy stones to repair the walls, or water to extinguish the flames kindled by the bombs thrown into the city.

At length, famine was like to effect what had foiled all the endeavours of the besieged. The garrison had, for several days, drunk vinegar mixed with water, instead of wine, and eat the most nauseous animals. These calamities began to stagger the resolution of the inhabitants. In this extremity, they presented a petition to Bragadino and Baglioni, requesting them to capitulate, while it was possible to do so upon honourable terms. Accordingly, a treaty was set on foot, hostages were exchanged, and, on honourable terms, capitulation was effected.

Next day, Bragadino went to pay his compliments to Mustapha, attended by Baglioni, Martinenga, and some of the chief officers. At first, they met with a civil reception, Mustapha ordering a seat to be placed for Bragadino, on his own right hand. They soon entered into discourse about the prisoners; and Mustapha, taxing Bragadino with some violences committed by the garrison during the suspension granted for settling a capitulation, Bragadino, with a generous disdain, denied the charge, calling it false and designing: upon which Mustapha, rising up in a fury, ordered him to be bound hand and foot, and the others to be massacred before his face. Bragadino was reserved for a more cruel treatment: after being insulted with the most opprobrious language; after undergoing the most excruciating tortures; after having his ears, nose, and lips cut off, his neck was stretched upon a block, and trampled upon by the dastardly Mustapha, who asked him where now was that Christ whom he worshipped, and why he did not deliver him out of his hands? At the same time the soldiers on board the fleet

were despoiled of every thing, and lashed to the oars. This day's work being finished, Mustapha entered the city, where he gave immediate orders that Tiepolo should be hanged upon a gibbet. Before Bragadino had recovered from his wounds, he was carried, in derision, to all the breaches made in the walls, loaded with buckets filled with earth and mortar, and ordered to kiss the ground as often as he passed by Mustapha: a spectacle that raised pangs of compassion in the callous hearts of the meanest Turkish soldiers, but could not move the obdurate breast of the brutal Mustapha. This brave Venetian was afterwards cooped up in a cage, and ignominiously hung to a sail-yard in one of the gallies, where his intrepid soldiers were chained to the oars. The sight rendered them almost furious; they exclaimed against the baseness, the treachery of Mustapha; they called aloud for revenge, and desired to be set at liberty, that they might, even without arms, rescue their brave general. Their request was answered with cruel lashes; Bragadino was taken down, conducted to the market-places, amidst the din of trumpets, drums, and other warlike instruments, where he was flayed alive.

He bore his sufferings with such an admirable constancy, that, even in the midst of torments, he calmly reasoned with Mustapha upon the duties of honour, virtue, and a soldier. He then taxed him with perfidy, cruelty, and cowardice, qualities the least becoming a general of all men. After his skin was pulled down to his navel, the force applied by the executioner made the blood stream out; when, with amazing firmness, he exclaimed upon the sufferings of Christ.

But these scenes cannot be described without horror. His skin was hung, by way of trophy, to the sail-yard of a galley, sent round all the coasts to insult the Venetians. In this manner perished the intrepid Bragadino, who suffered equally by the shameful procrastination of the republick, and the barbarity of a brutal enemy.

The Turks now laid waste the islands Zacyntho and Cephalonia, carrying off six thousand prisoners, while their army entered Albania. Castelnuovo in Dalmatia was commanded by Antonio Balbi, who, upon sight of the enemy, offered to submit, for which pusillanimity he was deservedly stigmatized with perpetual banishment. What rendered his disgrace the more remarkable was, that the women of the place, perceiving his and the garrison's intention to surrender, seized upon their arms, shields, and coats of mail, and, mounting the ramparts, headed by Rosello Dalmitino, a priest, by their hostile appearance, saved the city from an attack.

Don John of Austria now joined the confederate fleet, and resolved, on the first opportunity, to engage the enemy. The Turks made similar preparations; and the fleets met in the gulf of Lepanto, where a battle the most glorious upon record to the Christian arms, was fought. Twenty-five thousand Turks were killed, including their two chief admirals, with many other officers of the first distinction; many were drowned, and about three thousand five hundred were taken prisoners. On the side of the confederates, fifteen gallies were lost; of which, ten were Venetians; and ten thousand men were slain in the action, or died of their wounds. All was in confusion at Constantinople, the Turkish navy was

entirely ruined, their coasts and islands were naked, deserted, and in the utmost consternation, while the confederates rode triumphant in the Archipelago.

The greatest preparations, however, were continued on both sides; but quarrels took place between the Venetian and Spanish officers, and the senate endeavoured to conclude a peace, which they soon after effected, the republick, during the negociation, being at all the expense of a vigorous war.

A. D. 1573.

Selim, however, still continued to augment his army and fleets, which induced some to imagine that he intended renewing the war with Spain in Africa. This opinion was soon confirmed by the arrival of a Turkish ambassador at Venice, who, in a secret audience, acquainted the doge and council, that his instructions were to make an offer of all the Ottoman forces to curb the insolence of Philip, revenge the affronts sustained by the republick, and reduce that haughty monarch within reasonable limits. He launched out into severe invectives against the catholick king, bitterly reproaching him with perfidy, ambition, and tyranny. "Who (said he) can doubt that the Turkish empire must have suffered greater damage from Venetian bravery, if it had not been betrayed and checked by the policy and envy of Philip? Who doubts that the ultimate views of his cabinet terminate in universal monarchy, and in the destruction of Christian liberty? This (said he) Selim perfectly well knows, and generously offers himself to stem the torrent of ambition, and shield innocence and freedom. The virtue of the Venetians has made him forget that they were lately

his enemies. Great minds are soon united, and their differences, like the quarrels of lovers, serve only the more firmly to rivet their affections. Selim wants not to enlarge his territories; he aspires not after conquests. The burthen of his dominions, so widely extended from west to east, is already too great for mortal man to support. Whatever his arms shall subdue, the Venetians may look upon as the property of the republick: their wise government merits more extensive districts, if it were only to increase the happiness of mankind." He then exhorted them not to lose so favourable an opportunity of glory, of wealth, and of establishing their government on the most secure foundation. With such blandishments did the Turk endeavour to flatter her passions, and lead the republick into his master's views; but the senate was not to be caught by sweet words, and soothed into measures ruinous of the peace they had so lately purchased.

The republick of Venice had enjoyed but a short respite from the horrors of war, when it was visited by a more dreadful calamity; the pestilence cut off twenty-two thousand men, thirty thousand women, and eleven thousand children of both sexes; among the rest, it put a period to the life of Titian Vecelli da Cadore, the celebrated painter, when he had attained to the ninety-ninth year of his age. In acknowledgment of the disease being removed, the republick built the beautiful church del Redentore, according to a plan of the famous Andrea Palladio. The plague, however, was not the only disaster that distinguished this period A. D. 1576.

at Venice. An accidental fire consumed the whole publick palace, and destroyed, among many other valuable particulars, the portraits of all the doges, together with a great number of pictures finished by the hands of the greatest masters. Soon after, the doge Mocenigo was succeeded by Sebastiano Veniero, Nicola da Ponti, Pasquali Cicogna, Marino Grimani, and Leonardo Donato, who was the ninetieth doge.

During his government, a rupture, and consequent pacification, with the pope took place. Immediately after this pacification, Fra Paolo Sarpi, a Venetian servite, and famous theologian, who had, with great ability, written in defence of the republick, in the last dispute with Rome, received intimation from cardinal Bellarmine, to be upon his guard, as there was a design against his life. In consequence of this he, by order of the senate, wore a coat of mail under his tunick; but, being much incommoded by the weight of it, he at length laid it aside, and in a few days was set upon by assassins, who left him for dead, with three-and-twenty wounds in his body, and then escaped in a gondola which the pope's nuncio had prepared some days before. Fra Paolo recovered, and the infamy of this assassination remained with the cardinal Borghese, the favourite nephew of his holiness. This was the last incident which, in any shape, disturbed the government of the doge Leonardo Donato, who
A. D. 1612. died soon after, and was succeeded by Marcantonio Munio, Giovani Bembo, (during whose government, a rupture and a peace took place with Austria,) Nicolo Donato, and Antonio Priuli, the ninety-fourth doge.

During his government, Antonio Foscherini, a noble Venetian and senator, was publicly executed as a traitor to his country; but, after his death, his innocence was discovered. Certain persons being tried and convicted of bearing false witness, one of them confessed that he had unjustly informed against Foscherini, for the sake of the reward given to those who discover state criminals. All that the senate could do, on this melancholy occasion, was to punish severely the infamous informer, and publish an edict vindicating the reputation of the deceased nobleman, and restoring his family to their former rank and honours. Antonio Priuli was succeeded by Francesco Contarino, Giovanni Cornaro, Nicolo Contarino, Francesco Erizzo (during whose government, war with the Turks commenced in Candia) and Francesco Molino, the ninety-ninth doge. A. D. 1622.

During his government, the first siege of Candia took place, and the Venetians gained several naval victories. This was likewise the case during the dogeships of Carlo Contarino, Francesco Cornaro, Bertuccio Valiero, Giovanno Pesaro, and Dominico Contarino, the hundred and fourth doge, during whose government the memorable siege and capture of Candia took place.

His successors were Nicolo Sagredo, Luigi Contarino, and Marcantonio Giustiniano, the hundred and seventh doge; during whose reign, the Morea was subdued by the Venetians; Venice, and all Italy, was filled with exultation and rejoicings; and murmurs, discontent, and an insurrection, were ex- A. D. 1687.

cited at Constantinople. Giustiniano was succeeded by Francesco Morosino, and Sylvestro Valiero, the hundred and ninth doge, during whose government, the Porte concluded peace with Venice, and left the republick in the full possession of all her conquests.

A. D. 1698.

CHAP. IV.

War with the Algerines and the Tunisians; Abridgment of the fatal Power in Venice; Massacre of the French at Verona; Fall of the Venetian Republick.

THE death of Charles II. of Spain, without heirs, now involved all Europe in fresh troubles; but the Venetians wisely refused any share in the war, though solicited in favour of the French king, by the cardinal d'Etrees. Indeed, all the phlegmatick coolness, and all the patience of the doge Moncenigo, were necessary to prevent the senate from yielding to the indirect attempts made by all the belligerent powers, to rouse the republick from that political indifference which she had adopted as the rule of her conduct. Under his successor, Giovanni Cornaro, was enacted a law, regulating the dress of the Venetian females, both civick and patrician. They were prohibited from wearing, within the city, raiment of any other colour than black, and from ornamenting themselves with pearls, diamonds, gold or silver lace, or any kind of embroidery. During the government of this doge also, war broke out anew between the republick and the Turks. Sebastiano Moncenigo, his successor, brought it to a conclusion by a treaty, for which, after the death of Cornaro, he was rewarded with the ducal crown. Cario Razzini succeeded, and dying at the age

A. D. 1701.

A. D. 1710.

A. D. 1725.

of eighty-one, had for his successors, Luigi Pisani, Pietro Grimaldi, and Francisco Loretano.

Under the government of Marco Foscarini, the dey of Algiers made some extraordinary demands upon the republick of Venice: among the rest, besides the payment of an exorbitant sum of money, he insisted that his corsairs should have free liberty to cruise in the gulf of Venice, and to take the ships of any nation with whom he was not bound by treaty; with this extraordinary condition annexed, that if any of his cruisers should happen to be taken, the republick should repair the loss in ready money. These dishonourable proposals were refused, with a proper disdain, by the senate; and, as the dey of Algiers had broken the peace, they equipped a squadron of men of war, which they dispatched to Algiers, under the command of admiral Emo, to bring him to reason. The dey continued obstinate; upon which the admiral, according to his orders, immediately declared war against him, and sailed out of the harbour to fulfil his instructions, which were to block up the port, and destroy all the Algerine corsairs he could meet with. These vigorous resolutions soon brought the dey to temper, and indeed to a submission as mean as his demands had been insolent: he found himself under a necessity of having recourse to the mediation of the British consul, to obtain a renewal of the peace upon the original terms.

A. D. 1767.

In the following year the republick of Venice began to take example by the neighbouring powers, and to make several new regulations restricting the exercise of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction

in her dominions. The pontiff most rigorously opposed these innovations, but without producing any effect upon the conduct of the senate, who steadily pursued the system they had proposed. The bishop of Brescia was, however, so disgusted with these regulations, that he not only refused to obey the mandates issued by the senate, but even quitted the country, and retired to Ferrara. This conduct was the more extraordinary, as his bishoprick was computed to be worth twenty thousand pounds sterling a year. The senate immediately issued an order to confiscate his effects; and decreed, that if he did not return within a limited time, and submit to their mandates, he should continue an exile for life, and his revenues be forfeited.

Some years after this, the republick was thrown into the utmost terror and confusion by the Imperialists, without any previous notice or declaration, marching six hundred men into Venetian Dalmatia, and taking possession of several towns and districts, compelling the inhabitants to take the oath of fidelity to the emperor.

In 1785, the republick, under the government of Paulo Riniero, the successor of Moncenigo, seemed to depart from that pacifick system which had so peculiarly characterized her during the preceding part of the century. She engaged in an expensive and unprofitable war with the regency of Tunis; and, though the occasions for the war were not greater, or the offences given more heinous than those which usually occur in transactions with the African states, yet the Venetian fleet repeatedly insulted the coasts of that kingdom, cannonaded and bombarded several of the Tunisian ports or maritime fortresses, and

particularly succeeded in destroying the defences of Sfax, and laying the town in ashes. Emo, who still commanded the fleet, gained considerable credit and applause for his conduct and exertions, and the Venetian marine acquired some reputation and experience in war.

In the year 1789, Luigi Manino, the last doge, succeeded Riniero in the ducal chair. During his government, nothing important occurred till the invasion of Italy by the French. At that time, the Venetians, in order to check the progress of the republicans, put Peschiera into the hands of the Imperialists; but Bonaparte quickly becoming master of all Italy, they trembled before the progress of his victorious arms, and, in order to conciliate the favour of France, they warned out of their territories, the unfortunate brother of the late king. The circumstances attending his dismission did the Venetians no credit: on that prince's demanding the sword formerly presented to the senate, by his ancestor, the celebrated Henry IV. of France, as a token of his regard, they refused to restore it, on pretext that a large sum of money due from him to the state, had never been discharged.

A. D. 1796.

The republick of Venice, however, had long viewed with dissatisfaction the victorious progress of the French in Italy. Like the other natives of that country, the Venetians harboured a dislike to the French, induced by the difference of their character and manners. But the political antipathy of the Venetians was still greater than their national dislike. The conquests of the French had rendered them the arbiters of the fate of all Italy. The former im-

portance of the sovereignty of the states of that country had totally disappeared, and they alone gave the law. This was peculiarly mortifying to a state that stood upon a footing of equality with any other in Italy, and of superiority to most. The Venetians, therefore, waited with anxiety for a change of fortune in favour of the Austrians, whose neighbourhood they had long experienced to be much less dangerous than that of the French. In the mean time, they rendered many good offices to the former, and clearly manifested a partiality to them, which did not escape the notice of Bonaparte, who gave sufficient indications that he would remember it in due time. The resentment of the French was, at last, kindled, and their seizure of Bergamo, in which province an insurrection had already broken out, was the first signal of their intentions towards Venice. Its complaints of their violation of its territory were answered with reproaches of the partial conduct of the Venetian senate towards the Imperialists. Every day produced fresh occasions of discontent on each side; and it was easy to foresee that their reciprocal enmity would finally terminate in acts of violence.

At last, the Austrian army was forced to leave the territories of Venice, and take refuge in the hereditary states. As soon as the French had penetrated into these, the Venetians began to look upon them as entangled in straits, from which they could not easily extricate themselves. A report was also universally circulated, that the French were on the point of laying down their arms, and that nothing was wanting, to render victory over them complete, but a gene-

ral co-operation on the part of the Venetian government. An opportunity now offered to intercept the communication between Bonaparte and his posts in Italy. For this purpose, forty thousand of the Venetian peasantry were armed, and embodied with ten regiments of Sclavonians. They were posted on all the roads, and the convoys to the French army were every where stopped.

In the mean time, the hatred of the Venetians burst forth in the most outrageous manner. Those persons who had behaved kindly to the French, were treated as enemies of the state, and put under arrest; and none but their declared adversaries intrusted with any authority. In all places of publick resort, the French were insulted and reviled in the grossest terms. They were expelled from the city of Venice, and at Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, the inhabitants were ordered to take up arms against them. The officers of the Venetian military openly boasted, that the lion of St. Mark would verify the proverb, that Italy was the tomb of the French. The clergy inveighed against them in the pulpit, and the press teemed with publications to defame them. What brought these proceedings home to the government was, the notoriety that neither priests nor printers, in Venice, dared to preach or publish any thing not strictly conformable to the will and pleasure of the senate.

But these were only preludes to the outrages that followed. On the roads from Mantua to Legnano, and from Cassano to Verona, upwards of two hundred French were assassinated. Two battalions, on their march to join the army of

Bonaparte, were opposed by the Venetian troops, through whom they were obliged to fight their way. There were two other encounters of a similar nature. At Verona, a plot was laid to murder all the French in that city. It was carried into execution on the Tuesday after Easter. None were spared, not even those that lay sick in the hospitals. More than four hundred Frenchmen perished on this occasion. Those who garrisoned the three castles of that city were besieged by the Venetian army, till they were liberated by a body of their countrymen, who routed the Venetians, and made three thousand of them prisoners, among whom were several of their generals. At sea, the Venetians openly took the Austrian vessels under their protection, and fired at the French ships in pursuit of them.

These transactions were made the subject of a manifesto issued by Bonaparte, on the third of May, in which he directed the French resident at Venice to quit that city, and ordered the agents of the Venetian republick in Lombardy, and in its provinces on the main land, to leave them in twenty-four hours. He commanded his officers and troops to treat those of Venice as enemies, and to pull down, in every town, the lion of St. Mark, the arms of the Venetian republick. In consequence of this manifesto, the French troops overran and subjugated, in a few days, all the Venetian dominions. The Veronese, whose conduct to the French had been remarkably atrocious, were condemned to an exemplary punishment. Some thousands of the peasants, who attempted to oppose the French, were put to the sword. The Sclavonians, who had come to their assistance, were routed, and

fled to a fort filled with their powder and ammunition; but it was blown up by the cannon of the French, and they were all destroyed. Another engagement took place before the walls of Verona, and the Venetians fought with great fury; but they were defeated with vast slaughter, and the place compelled to surrender.

The Venetian senate, despairing of being able to make any effectual resistance, formally submitted to the French commander, and consented to deliver up those persons who had been instrumental in the atrocities of which the French complained. On the 16th of May, the French took possession of the city of Venice, where a provisional government was now established on the republican plan. The press was declared free, persons and property secure, and religion left on its former footing. The only seizures, made in the name of the French government, were of the arsenal and its contents, with the shipping that belonged to the state.

A. D. 1797.

Thus fell, after a splendid existence of fourteen centuries, the celebrated republick of Venice. No modern state had risen from such small beginnings to a situation of equal prosperity. It was with sincere regret that every nation in Europe beheld its fall. The celebrity it had long enjoyed, on a multiplicity of accounts, interested every one in its preservation. Without inquiring how far the French could claim a right to doom it so unmercifully to destruction, they only considered that it had subsisted with honour to the present period, and had maintained its reputation unimpaired amidst a variety of dan-

gers and trials, that had, sometimes, reduced it to the last extremity. The political world saw with concern the fatal hour arrive, that was to deprive it of the place it had so long and so honourably held among the nations of Europe.

By the treaty of Campo Formio, Venice, with most of its dependencies, was ceded to his imperial majesty.

FLORENCE.

CHAP. I.

Contests between the Guelphs and Ghibelins; Government of the Duke of Athens; War with the Pisans and Hawkwood, &c.

FLORENCE, the capital of Tuscany, is delightfully situated in the midst of fertile and well cultivated hills and vallies, and divided by the river Arno, which has four stone bridges, into two unequal parts. The streets are paved with very broad stones, and are generally clean; though many of them are crooked, and so narrow as not to afford room for a carriage to pass. This city, next to Rome, is, with regard to antiquities and curiosities, the best worthy of a stranger's visiting of any in Italy. Its cathedral is much larger than St. Paul's, at London; and some of its palaces and publick buildings are extremely magnificent. The chapel of San Lorenzo, though it makes no great appearance on the outside, will, if ever it is finished, be by far the finest in the world. The old ducal palace contains the greatest and finest collection, made by one family, and within one roof, of ancient and modern sculpture, painting, and curiosities of

every kind, both natural and artificial. This palace contains likewise an immense quantity of plate and jewels, ancient and modern; and Florence is celebrated for several excellent libraries.

Pisa, Leghorn, Pistora, Sienna, Stato de gli Presidii, and Lucca, are its dependencies; but its history is little known till the time of the Longobards, under their king Alboine, who made himself master of Tuscany, and almost all Italy. Having killed Cunimund, king of the Gepidæ, another of those barbarous nations that then ravaged all the continent of Europe, in a single combat, he married Rosemond, Cunimund's beautiful daughter, and made a drinking cup of her father's scull, out of which he forced his queen to drink. The queen dissembled her indignation, but applied for revenge to two officers. One of them had been affronted by the king, and she knew the other to be deeply enamoured of her person. These she admitted into the royal bed-chamber, where they murdered Alboine, and she made her escape to Ravenna. A kind of anarchy succeeded amongst the barbarians of Italy, for about ten years; but it does not appear to what particular barbarian the government of Tuscany fell. It is, however, certain, that the Longobards or Lombards were masters of Italy, Rome and its territories excepted, for two hundred and four years, till they were displaced by Charlemagne, who is said to have restored Tuscany, in general, to a respectable condition, after it had suffered more than any country in Italy, from the fury of the barbarians.

All that Charles required were certain tri-

butes, as marks of his sovereignty, and, in other respects, he left these different states to make the best of their situation and natural powers.

A. D. 773. The Florentines were distinguished above all the other inhabitants of Tuscany, by their industry, their knowledge of the civil arts, and the uncommon strength of their genius. But they were destined soon to suffer more from disputes between the emperors and the popes, than they had done from the barbarians. The emperor, Frederick II. of Germany, put to death, by various tortures, many of the

A. D. 1257. Tuscan nobility, and totally subjected their country. Upon his death, the Florentines erected themselves into an independent state, and made choice of twelve magistrates, whom, on account of their pre-eminence, they called Antiani.

Their first wars were with the Pistoians, whom they subdued. They next defeated the Pisans and the Siennese, and took Volaterra. The Pisans had formed a league with them, which they soon after broke, and, upon this provocation, the Florentines and the Lucquese

A. D. 1255. joined forces, and gave the Pisans a total defeat, upon the banks of the Arno. In consequence of this action, the victors marched to the very gates of Pisa, and, forcing the inhabitants into a shameful peace, obliged them to deliver up the town of Matrona, with a large compass of the sea-coast; to grant the Florentines the freedom of their city; and to make use of Florentine weights and measures.

Florence was now divided between two opposite factions, the Guelphs and Ghibelins, the

partisans of papal and imperial power. The family of the Uberti were, at this time, at the head of the Florentine Ghibelins; and the people, or rather the republican party, resented their contumacy so much, that they ran to arms, broke into the palace of the Uberti, and, having killed some, forced all the Ghibelins to take refuge in Sienna, where they were hospitably received, in direct violation of the treaty between the Florentines and the Siennese. Upon this, the Florentines declared war against their state; and the exiles implored the protection of Manfred, natural son of the emperor Frederick, and king of Naples and Sicily. But all they could obtain was a single squadron of German horse. The deputies, at first, proposed declining assistance so little proportioned to the exigency; but Farinata was of a contrary opinion: "Let Manfred," said he, "give us the squadron, and we shall soon manage matters so, that, if he has within him one spark of royalty, he will send greater reinforcements." This observation brought the deputies over to Farinata's sentiments. The squadron having attacked the Florentines, was soon after cut in pieces, and the standard of Manfred taken, and treated with peculiar ignominy. In consequence of this affront, Manfred ordered Jordano, one of his generals, to put himself at the head of one thousand five hundred of his best cavalry, and to march to the assistance of the Siennese and the Ghibelins of Florence. The Florentines were determined to march out in opposition to them, and gave notice to their allies of Lucca and Arezzo to be in readiness

to join them, about four miles from the city of Sienna.

But, on their arrival, Jordano, having disposed every thing for a furious attack, and ordering the gates to be thrown open, advanced against the Florentines, at the head of his German cavalry, and was followed by the Siennese and all the Florentine exiles. The army of Florence not expecting such an onset, was thrown into confusion; but the horse behaved so bravely, that the success of the battle was, for some time, doubtful, till the Ghibelin Florentines, whom they had forced along with them, declared for the enemy; and the Florentine cavalry, not even knowing how to trust one another, abandoned the foot. It was the custom, in those days, for European armies to carry along with them a chariot, or rather a stage, magnificently decorated, and in the middle was fixed their chief standard, which they considered as the palladium of their state. The Florentine foot, finding themselves abandoned by their cavalry, flocked round the standard, embraced it with tears of affection, and performed miracles in its defence; but all their efforts were ineffectual. The disciplined Germans cut every man of them to pieces, to the number of three thousand, who fought round their standard, and made four thousand prisoners in other parts of the field, besides taking the camp and baggage.

The horror, grief, despair, and distraction, which prevailed in Florence, upon this occasion, cannot be described. And now, in proportion as the common people had been presumptuous

in prosperity, their despondency was despicable in adversity. Without consulting aught but their own fears, they abandoned the city; some removed to Lucca, others to Bologna. A. D. 1260. From this period, Florence changed its masters; Guido Novello, a Ghibelin nobleman, was put at the head of the civil administration, and Jordano directed their military affairs. Publick justice was administered in Manfred's name. The Guelphs were soon after expelled from Lucca, and Charles of Anjou being, about that time, crowned king of Naples, at the recommendation of the pope, they joined his army in the plains of Mantua. Manfred resolved to oppose his pretensions, and their hostile armies drew up in order of battle in the plains of Benevento, the country of the ancient Samnites. Jordano was made prisoner, and Manfred was defeated and killed in the battle.

Novello was now expelled from Florence; the Guelph exiles, the ancient constitution, and the popular government were restored. A peace was soon after concluded; but war in a few years broke out with the Pisans. With incredible labour, they divided their territories from those of Florence by a ditch, which terminated at the mouth of the Arno: this they fortified with towers; and for some years, it was of great service in defending them against the incursions of their enemies. At length, however, the Florentines, in a dry season, passed it with a body of horse, by the channel of the Arno, and joining their allies the Lucquese, drove the Pisans into their city with great slaughter. They plundered

A. D. 1276. their territory, and made dispositions for besieging Pisa itself, when the pope's legate forced both parties into an accommodation.

A change in the Florentine government soon after took place, in favour of the popular faction, and Florence, for several years, enjoyed a state of tranquillity, and cultivated the peaceful arts.

A. D. 1287. In the following war with Arezzo, both armies being drawn up in order of battle, Veri de Cherchi, a Florentine nobleman, set a remarkable example of patriotism and magnanimity. By the post he held in the army, it was his province to choose a squadron of horse to form the van, and to guard the grand standard; a place so dangerous, that the boldest in the army seemed to shrink from the service. Veri named himself first, though he was then ill of the gout, then his son, and then his grandson; but refused to nominate any other, observing, that they who loved their country would offer themselves. His example was most effectual. The Arezzian horse, however, made such a gallant resistance, that they were upon the point of being joined by their foot, when Cursio Donati, in disobedience of orders, charged the enemy with this noble expression, "If we die, we can fear no further penalty; if we conquer, let our acousers impeach us at Pistoia*." His heroism was successful, and the Arezzians were defeated.

In the same year, the office of gonfalonier was instituted, for the purpose of restraining the nobility, who were shortly after excluded from

* A town of the enemy.

all share in the government. This was effected by the influence of one Giano Della Bella, of a decayed but illustrious family. His authority became at last so formidable, that a civil war must have ensued, had not he prevented it by an instance of magnanimity that would have done honour to the greatest patriot of Greece or Rome: he chose to undergo a voluntary banishment, rather than disturb the tranquillity of the state. But divisions still continued in Florence: ingratitude, the reigning disease of popular governments, had almost ruined the republick. However, during the few succeeding years of peace, many magnificent works were erected by the Florentines, and, among the rest, a new town-house or palace, at that time the noblest in Europe. A. D. 1291.

In the year 1300, there flourished at Pistoia a noble family, commonly called Cancellari, the branches of which, being at variance with one another, were distinguished by the names of Neri and Bianchi, the Blacks and the Whites. In order to preserve the tranquillity of Pistoia, these families were forced to remove to Florence, but even there they communicated their infection to other families: the Cerchi espoused the quarrel of the one, while the Donati attached themselves to the cause of the other. A long series of hostilities, fatal to the tranquillity of Florence, ensued, which was only put a period to by the death of Cursio Donati, the bold leader of the popular faction.

The emperor now marched into Italy, harassed the Florentines, and laid siege to their city, but was soon forced to raise it. The Florentines, however, in their despair, A. D. 1312.

applied to Robert king of Naples, and transferred to him the government of their city during five years. The emperor then entered into a league with the king of Sicily against him, but, soon after died of poison, supposed to have been given him by a friar, in administering to him the sacrament, at the instigation of the Florentines. War, however, took place with the Pisans, for the assistance they had given the emperor Henry. A battle which ensued was so fatal to the Florentines, that a new regulation was adopted, relative to armour, by which every horseman was to have his helmet, breast-plate, gauntlets, cuisses, and boots, all of iron.

War now took place with Castruccio of Lucca, who carried his incursions to the very gates of Florence. The Florentines in despair resigned their city to the prince of Tarentum, who gave them, for his deputy-governor, Philip, one of his best generals, with one thousand horse. Philip resolved on an enterprise, which makes a great figure in the Florentine history; and that was no less than the surprisal of Pistoia, where Castruccio had left seven hundred men in garrison, all of them choice troops. He marched to Prato, where he prepared scaling ladders, and other machines of the same nature; and, being attended by two thousand foot and six hundred horse, he arrived that very night, under the walls of Pistoia. It was then the dead of winter, and the frost so severe, that the waters in the ditches were passable, whereby the exiles who accompanied Philip, came near enough to the walls to mount them, by the assistance of their ladders; these were followed by about one hundred of their party; while those without, passing the

ditches, attempted with pick-axes and other instruments to penetrate the wall, in which at last they made two small breaches: by these, Philip entered with his horse, but would have been repelled with loss had he not found means to set fire to the gates, through which the whole body, both of horse and foot, now entered the town, and after a bloody dispute, fought their way to the market-place. Having left a garrison in Pistoia, Philip returned to Florence, where he was received with extraordinary honours. A. D. 1328.

But gratitude is seldom the distinguishing virtue of republicans: differences soon happened between the Florentines and Philip, and Castruccio, in the mean time, besieged and retook Pistoia. The Florentine historians, with great justice, think this retaking of Pistoia the most splendid action of Castruccio's life; and undoubtedly every thing considered, it showed a vast superiority of military genius over all his contemporaries. It was in that age a new spectacle to behold a general take possession of a strong city in the sight of a far superior army sent to its relief. Castruccio soon after died.

To secure the independence of the people, some alterations were now made in the government of Florence. War, soon after, followed with Pisa, and Catino was besieged and taken. Lucca was also besieged, but John King of Bohemia marching with an army into Lombardy, the siege was raised. The Florentines, however, were determined to oppose his progress, and that they might not be wanting to their allies, they sent them four hundred horse under the command of Stroza and Scala. They arrived at

Verona just as king John and the pope's legate, who supportod him in quality of vicar of the empire, were preparing to give a general assault to Ferrara. The Florentines no sooner threw themselves into the city, than they resolved to attack the camp of the besiegers. The victory was so complete that all Romagna revolted from the legate.

A. D. 1331.

Soon after this transaction, Florence was involved in a war with Scaliger prince of Verona, but while prosecuting an expensive warfare, she was cultivating the arts of peace in a degree of perfection then unknown to the rest of the world. Giotto, at this period, founded the quadrangular tower of marble, called la Torre de Santa Reparata, which stands by the cathedral of Florence. Scaliger meanwhile made an attack upon that capitol, and a battle ensued in which the Florentines, with difficulty came off conquerors. Scaliger, though now surrounded by many powerful enemies, was not deficient in conduct, either as a statesman or warrior. As Luchino, the Florentine general, who by this time had been joined by a detachment of two thousand four hundred horse, under Marsilio, the brother of Rosso, had advanced within a few miles of Verona, he left that city, at the head of three thousand horse, and a body of foot, and offered battle to the enemy, which Luchino declined. This cowardice or treachery so disgusted his troops that many of them immediately quitted the service. Scaliger, to improve this opportunity, took post three miles below Bovolenta, where Rosso, the Florentine, was still encamped, with a view of intercepting Marsilio in his return to join his brother. In this emergency, Rosso ordered his

soldiers to gather great quantities of bitter herbs, which grew in the neighbourhood, and throw them into the waters of the Brenta, which supplied Scaliger's army, and which thereby became so bitter as to be rendered unserviceable both to man and horse: so that Scaliger was obliged to decamp, and Marsilio rejoined his brother. Without losing time, they marched directly to Padua, where the citizens opened the gates to their army, and cut in pieces Scaliger's garrison, commanded by his brother Alberto, who was made a prisoner. But the joy occasioned by this important conquest, was quickly damped by the deaths of both the Rossi. A. D. 1537.

The Florentines now purchased Arezzo and Lucca, and invaded the Veronese, which forced Scaliger to a peace. They were, for some years, dreaded all over Italy. Jealous of their power, the Pisans stirred up a confederacy against them, and reduced them to the utmost misery. In their distress, they chose the duke of Athens for their governor. The Arezzians, the Volterrans, and the Pistoians, followed their example; but Gualtieri behaved with the greatest tyranny and cruelty, and was opposed by the presidents of Florence. They among themselves agreed that, next day, when the assembly was to be held, they should move the government to be decreed to him for one year, under the same limitations that had been prescribed to Robert prince of Naples. The tyrant, however, had taken his measures so well, that he was ushered into the assembly by some of the principal nobility, and his person was guarded by a number of plebeians, with arms concealed under their clothes. One of

the presidents, rising from his seat, made the motion agreed upon the night before; but he was interrupted by a general cry, that they would have Gualtieri for their governor without any limitations. The presidents being thus deterred from further opposition, the nobility carried the tyrant on their shoulders to the palace, where they placed him in the chair of state.

Gualtieri now turned the presidents out of the palace allotted for them, and took possession of it for himself. He was too prudent to abolish their office; but he left them only a shadow of power. He totally abrogated the institutions of the companies and their gonfaloniers. He deprived the citizens of their arms, and made himself the sole fountain of preferments and honours in the state. His avarice was insatiable: he appropriated all the publick money to his own private use, and employed part of his great wealth in fortifying his palace, so as to render it, to all intents and purposes, a citadel. When any of the citizens complained of his officers, he caused the complainants to be publicly scourged, without so much as inquiring into their grievances. He ordered a citizen's tongue to be pulled out by the roots; and, having banished another upon suspicion, he seemingly pardoned him; but no sooner was he returned to Florence, than he put him to death. At last, despair and hatred banished every consideration of fear amongst the Florentines: three several conspiracies were formed against him, each without knowledge of the others; but all now united and besieged him in his palace or citadel. They, in their turn, now laughed at the tyrant's compliances and offers, and the siege went on with

the utmost fury; so that finding he should, at last, be obliged to yield, he thrust out of the citadel those officers and guards whose cruelty had rendered them most obnoxious to the people, by whom they were instantly put to death. Indeed, before the populace would listen to any terms of accommodation, they insisted upon his delivering up to their vengeance three or four individuals who had espoused his cause; among these was Gulielmo de Susi, and his son, a youth of eighteen, of extraordinary beauty, and the most amiable disposition. This unhappy victim, whose only crime was being son to Gulielmo, no sooner came forth, than the savage multitude fell upon him with swords, daggers, and knives, and not only cut him in pieces, but like wild beasts, devoured his flesh. The tyranny of Gualtieri continued above nine months; but he now agreed to divest himself of all power over Florence, and to ratify the articles which he had signed, as soon as he should quit the Florentine territories. It is remarkable that the Arezzians, the Pistoians, and the Volterrans, as if all had acted in concert, recovered their liberties, and expelled the tyrant's troops, at the same time. A. D. 1343.

Civil dissentions, however, still continued in Florence. The nobility were expelled from the magistracy, and Arezzo was restored to independency. Peace was soon after concluded with Pisa. In the course of this year, the Florentine government surmounted a difficulty, which, in that age, would, perhaps, have been insurmountable by any other people. The state had borrowed from its subjects a large sum of money, amounting to about sixty thousand pounds ster-

ling. The low state of the publick finances, at this time, did not admit of the government's paying off the debt, yet was there a necessity for supporting the publick credit. As a middle way, every creditor had assignments made to him, on the publick revenue, at the rate of five per cent. These assignments were transferable like our stocks, and negociated in the same manner; their value rising or falling according to the prosperity or distresses of the state. The Florentine stock was negociated in the same manner as bargains are for any other mercantile commodity. Here perhaps, we have the first rise of paper credit. The following year is noted for an event not much to the honour of England. The Florentine family of the Bardi were then the greatest bankers in Europe, and had partnerships in most trading nations. They had lent Edward III. king of England, about seven hundred thousand crowns of gold, to assist him in his French wars; and his majesty not being punctual in his remittances, the Bardi became insolvent. As there was scarcely one family in Florence that had not money in their hands, the calamity was general, and occasioned such distrusts between man and man as amounted to a stagnation of publick credit. It appeared, however, upon inspecting the bankrupts' accounts, that the company owed about two hundred thousand crowns less than their demand upon Edward.

A. D. 1345.

Next year, a famine prevailed all over Italy, and the Florentines were obliged to buy up grain in Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily. Their humanity, on this occasion, deserves to be recorded: they gave bread to incredible numbers of women,

children, and poor people, who flocked to their city from the country and the neighbouring states, which had not been so provident. All their charitable precautions, however, could not hinder a pestilential disease from breaking out in the city, which is generally the consequence of famine and of a place overstocked with numbers of strangers.

The Florentines were now, for several years, engaged in a war with Giovanni Visconti of Milan, and with the Pisans, whose port they entered, and carrying off the great iron chain that secured it, they hung it up, in the old temple of Mars at Florence, as a trophy of their maritime power. Their general Farnetio entered the Pisan territory, and came to an engagement with their whole force, which he totally defeated. He took their general, with a great number of their soldiers, and almost all their military ensigns, which he carried back in great triumph to Florence. His modesty was equal to his glory. The Florentines, who in all affairs of government or war, affected to imitate the Roman republicans, in a full assembly, offered him a crown of laurel; but he refused it, as being too great an honour, till he could perform some service of greater consequence to the state. A. D. 1362.

Upon the conclusion of the treaty of Bretigny, in 1360, between Edward III. of England and king John of France, a peace succeeded between the two nations, in consequence of which a great number of soldiers were dismissed from the service of both princes. All France at this time, was filled with robberies by those disbanded soldiers, and it is hard to say what the conse-

quence might have been, had not the English, to the number of four thousand horse and two thousand foot, detesting the cruelties and excesses of their companions, separated themselves from the main body. They were commanded by Sir John Hawkwood, a native of Heningham in Essex. His father was a tanner, and he himself had been bound apprentice to a taylor; but, enlisting as a soldier, he distinguished himself so greatly that he received the honour of knighthood, and, before the peace of Bretigny, had acquired considerable property as well as rank. His first design, and that of the officers under him, was to offer their services to Florence, on account of the great losses they had sustained by the money they had so generously lent to the English. According to Aretin, they actually made the offer immediately upon the death of Farnetio; but their demands being too high, the Florentines rejected them, and they were obliged to enter into the service of Pisa.

The Pisans, without difficulty, granted them all their demands; and the English no sooner took the field, than they marched through Lucca, Pistoia, and Prato, and encamped within two miles of Florence. The manner in which the English made war was very different from any thing the Florentines had ever seen before, and incredible was the terror they spread wherever they advanced. They returned to Pisa, however, with a much greater booty than had ever before been acquired in such an expedition. The richness of it allured them to a second enterprise. From Pisa, they now advanced to Figline in the vale of Arno. The Florentines marched their army to Ancisca in the same vale,

where they intrenched themselves, but in so awkward a way, that the English forced their intrenchments, took their camp, and drove them into Ancisa. In this engagement, the Florentine general, Pietro Farnetio, was made prisoner, together with a great number of other officers and soldiers, and the Florentines lost all their carriages and baggage. Next day, the English broke through a wall and ditch that reached from Ancisa to the Arno, and opened their way to Florence, which was filled with amazement and dismay. A. D. 1364.

The Pisans now gave out, that they would come by way of Arezzo to Florence, by a certain day, and desired the Florentines to be ready for their reception. The Florentines, who really believed them to be in earnest, fortified St. Miniato with five hundred soldiers, and threw up strong intrenchments for defending all the avenues of their city, waiting for their enemies with the utmost anxiety. But the Pisan soldiers having no inclination for the adventure, the English left them at Figline, and forcing all the Florentine intrenchments in the night, penetrated by day-break to Ripoli, within two miles of Florence, before their march was known. Instantly the city was overwhelmed in uproar, and every man capable of bearing arms appeared before the gate; so that, including the army which was then in Florence, their number amounted to thirty thousand men, against six thousand English; yet they thought not once of attacking the enemy; all their care was to defend themselves. From Florence, the English returned to Figline, with many captives

and enormous booty; thence they marched to Arezzo; so that, to use Aretius's own words, they knocked by turns, at the gates of Florence and Arezzo, taking Figline in the midway, and nothing, continues he, could be more terrible than the sound of their name.

By the close of the campaign, however, the captives they had made were so numerous, and their booty so unwieldy, that they knew not how to carry them to Pisa, especially as the way was encumbered and difficult. They therefore had recourse to the following extraordinary stratagem. They sent a formal message to Florence, inviting the presidents to assist in celebrating mass with them in the church of St. Salviano, at Florence, on the 13th of November. Were not the fact attested by their own historians, one could scarcely believe that the Florentines were absurd enough implicitly to credit the message: instead of preparing to harass and prevent the retreat of their enemies, they thought not of any thing but of defending themselves on the appointed day while the English, setting fire to their camp at Figline, returned unmolested to Pisa, with all their plunder and prisoners.

The English were received in triumph by the Pisans, and admitted to winter in their city. But the Pisans had no reason to be fond of their guests, for they had nothing they could call their own; the English engrossing all both within and without doors: they refused to make a winter campaign. In the ensuing season, the Pisans took into their pay three thousand German horse, and the remainder of the campaign, as usual, consisted of horrid depredations. The

Florentines, from their walls, had the mortification to see their territory all in flames around them, and to hear the voices of their enemies while besieging their city.

It is propable that the Pisans, before the end of this campaign, would have made themselves masters of Florence, had not the Florentines tampered with the English, offering them large sums to change their party. The English pleaded their honour, and refused to fight against the Pisans, but were prevailed upon not to fight against the Florentines, and offered to enter into their service against any other enemy than the Pisans. But the English general, Hawkwood, rejected a neutrality of any kind, and, at the head of one thousand of his countrymen, remained in the Pisan service. An assault, under his conduct, was, soon after, made upon the Florentine camp. The Pisans, who made the attempt, were repelled by the valour of the Arezzians in the Florentine service; eight hundred Pisans were killed, and two thousand taken prisoners. Upon this disaster, Hawkwood performed an orderly retreat to Sabino, where his main body lay, and Malatesta, the Florentine general, ordered no pursuit to be made. The Florentines retained so much of the ancient Roman spirit, that when defeated, they refused to treat of peace, but now that they had gained a victory, it was urged in the strongst terms, and, by the mediation of the pope, at last, was effected. A. D. 1367.

Two years afterwards, upon some quarrel with the inhabitants, the Florentines besieged St. Miniato, and Bernabo of Milan, pretending he was invited by the inhabitants, advanced to

its relief. His general, on this occasion, was the famous Sir John Hawkwood, a name still terrible to the Florentines, whose troops were commanded by Giovanni Malatacca, an able soldier. When Hawkwood approached the Florentine camp, he found it so fortified that it could not be attacked with advantage, and drew off to the distance of about ten miles. This retreat gave the Florentine magistrates and common soldiers such spirits that they upbraided Malatacca with cowardice, for refusing to lead them against the enemy. Finding all remonstrances vain, "Let us march, then," said he, "since it must needs be so. These giddy-headed blunderers shall soon find that I am destitute neither of courage nor conduct." Leaving a sufficient number for the defence of the camp, by day-break he began his march against Hawkwood, who now assured himself of victory. He ordered his regular troops to refresh themselves plentifully, and to remain within their trenches; but sent his irregulars of every kind to skirmish with the enemy, and so increased the fatigue occasioned by a long march during a sultry day. This stratagem was effectual, and Hawkwood, at the critical minute, fell with his fresh troops upon the Florentines, with so much fury, that he obtained a complete and easy victory. Malatacca was made a prisoner; the slain and captives were numerous; and the rout was total. Notwithstanding this victory, Hawkwood durst not attempt to raise the siege of Mineato, which, after the Florentine manner of proceeding, was in consequence of this defeat, carried on with greater

A. D. 1369.

vigour than before. It was, at last, betrayed into their hands.

During this year, the Florentines purchased freedom for the Lucquese. In the following year, they felt it necessary to exert all their spirit against the papal encroachments, and engage the Italian states to assert their independence. Excommunications were consequently thundered out against Florence, and the republick was forced to appoint Alessandro Antilla and Donato Barbadorio to go and plead their cause before pope Gregory, at Avignon; but, notwithstanding all they could urge, the interdicts against Florence were confirmed. The spirit which Barbadorio manifested upon this occasion was great and memorable. Soon as the pontiff had pronounced the sentence against his country, he turned round to an image of God, and, in the presence of his holiness, exclaimed, "Oh God, we the deputies of the Florentines, from this unjust sentence of thy vicar, appeal to thy equity. Thou who art subject neither to deceit nor anger; thou who lovest the liberty, and not the slavery of man; thou who hatest tyrants, and the lusts of tyrants, defend the liberty of the Florentines, and become their auspicious guardian." The death of Gregory put an end to the dispute.

But civil dissentions took place in the city of Florence. Alterations were made in the government, and Michaeli Lando was chosen gonfalonier. His origin was mean, but he conducted himself with magnanimity, and repressed alike the insolence of the nobles and of the rabble. At this period, the fine arts appeared in no part of Europe but A. D. 1378.

amongst the Florentines, who were, by far, the most respected people in Italy. During the first year of his government, an informer, named Antonio, count of Bruscoli, accused as conspirators some of the greatest nobility, particularly Peter Albizi, at that time the most respected citizen in Florence. This nobleman lived upon his own estate in the country, when he was seized by the Florentine soldiers. Though his tenants with ease might have rescued him, yet so conscious was he of his own innocence, that he commanded them to desist, and quietly went along with the guards. Of all the accused, one alone escaped. The trials of the illustrious prisoners soon came on, and then, in glowing colours, did all the horror of democratick government appear. The judge acquitted them even of the suspicion of treason; but such was the fury of the multitude, that, besetting the tribunal, they would have torn him to pieces, had he not declared them guilty. Accordingly they were put to death. The historians of Florence justly bewail the state of their country at this time. Those who presided in the government were conscious that they had been guilty of murdering the noblest and most innocent persons of the state, and, for their own security, they now added crime to crime; they banished all whom they suspected, and, to render their power as stable as possible, they made Sir John Hawkwood governor of all the troops of the republick.

Hawkwood soon after took the field to check the progress of Charles of Durazzo, who now sent ambassadors to Florence to solicit its friendship, but was, nevertheless, pursued by Hawk-

wood into the territories of Arezzo. The Florentines were again alarmed by intelligence, that Lewis of Anjou, as the adopted son of Joan Queen of Naples, was marching to drive Charles of Durazzo from Italy. They now espoused the cause of Charles, and made themselves masters of Arezzo. The death of Lewis, about the same time, gave peace to Italy. A. D. 1384.

CHAP. II.

War with the Milanese. Revival of Grecian Literature in Tuscany. Reduction of Pisa. Siege of Lucca; and Affairs of Florence till the Demise of Cosmo III.

AT the commencement of the war with Galeazzo of Milan, Florence was eminently flourishing, both in the state of its finances and in the resources of its citizens. In this war, Bologna was her ally, and, in conjunction, they attempted the conquest of Milan. The French also, under the count d'Armagnack, lent their assistance. Hawkwood quickly made himself master of the Milanese; but the French, by an act of the utmost imprudence, were totally defeated. Galeazzo, having gained over them a complete and unexpected victory, marched against Hawkwood, who, though inferior in force, defeated them in their turn. Hawkwood, however, was forced to retreat before them, and they hung upon his rear, till he reached the Oglio, which it was difficult to pass in sight of a superior army; but, by the help of four hundred English archers, he surmounted even this difficulty: they passed the river, and covered the rest of the army, under the discharge of their arrows. This retreat was, in those days, a masterpiece of generalship. The banks of the Adige, however, presented new difficulties: the enemy had broken them down and inundated the adjacent country; but Hawkwood's genius rose superior amidst

A. D. 1390.

difficulties. Marching through the shoal water he pitched his tents upon a rising ground, and there leaving them standing, to deceive the enemy, he proceeded to Montagnana, a friendly town, where, in boats, he passed the Adige. Aretin observes, that no general but Hawkwood could have performed such a retreat, which proved him the ablest commander of that age.

He arrived at Florence in time to preserve it from the enemy; the Florentines recovered from the consternation into which they had been thrown; they soon after routed the army of the Milanese; and a negociation for peace was set on foot. After various altercations, the affair was referred to the pope's legate, the doge of Genoa, and, in compliment, a deputy from the people of Genoa. Those referees, when they had determined their award, demanded who was to be the guarantee of the peace. "The sword," replied Tomassi, one of the Florentine deputies, "Galeazzo and Florence now know each other's strength." This gallant speech was approved of even by Galeazzo's party, and the terms were agreed to.

But Galeazzo was insincere; again he prepared for war, and again the Florentines renewed their league. The revival of Grecian learning, amidst those uncertainties of negociation and of war, does honour to the Florentine name. The emperor of Constantinople had come to solicit assistance against the Turks, and, in his train, was a noble Byzantine, called Chrysoloras, renowned for his knowledge of Grecian literature. By a solemn deputation, the Floren-

A. D. 1393. tines invited this illustrious scholar to their city, where he was received with every honour due to his merit and his rank; and a salary was allowed him for opening a school for Greek lectures. Chrysoloras kept open his school for above two years, but was forced to attend his master upon his return to Constantinople. While upon this subject, it is justice to Florence and to the memory of Aretin, to observe, that this Florentine may be considered as the great reviver of classical Latin in Europe, and that no subsequent writer has exceeded the purity and precision of his style; nor were his countrymen ungrateful to his merit; they conferred on him the chiefest employments of the state.

In the following year, the Florentines sustained an irrecoverable blow by the death of Sir John Hawkwood, the greatest captain of that age. He had married the natural daughter of Bernabo, duke of Milan, and received with her a million of florins. Though he served different states and different interests, he was neither mercenary nor ungrateful. After having been the scourge, he became the saviour of the Florentines; and, when he died, was, at the publick expense, honoured with a funeral and a magnificent monument.

For eight succeeding years, conspiracies, civil commotions, and war with Galeazzo disturbed the tranquillity of Florence. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, that city was almost depopulated by pestilence; and the power of Galeazzo still increased. In order to protect themselves, the Florentines invited the emperor into Italy, but having received an enormous subsidy,

he deceived and left them. Galeazzo was now victorious, but his death soon ridded the Florentines of anxiety: they were suspected of having taken him off by poison. War, however, quickly succeeded with Ladislaus of Naples, and with the Pisans, whose city was besieged. A surrender was at last negociated, and Bindi, a Pisan, was sent by Gambacurta, the governor, to Caponi, the Florentine general, for that purpose.

The Pisan bore, in his face, every mark of extreme famine; but, though he supped with the Florentine general, all his entreaties could not prevail upon him to give him a loaf of bread. Such misery was no longer to be withstood; and Pisa surrendered to the Florentines. Caponi immediately ordered the terms of capitulation to be proclaimed, declaring, that the Pisans should be safe in their persons and properties, and relieved from all their distresses. Upon this declaration, the inhabitants of every age and condition flocked round their conquerors as their deliverers; but never did a more shocking scene of misery appear, than was presented by those emaciated wretches. Almost every thing that was eatable had been consumed, and many of the besieged had subsisted upon dead bodies torn from the graves. The Florentines had brought along with them a quantity of bread, which they threw among the people as they passed through the streets. The sight of food and their eagerness to catch it, made the Pisans forget all their animosity towards their late enemies; and the surrender of their city was completed without tumult. Upon a narrow search, it was discovered, that no kind of provision re- A. D. 1405.

mained in Pisa on the day it surrendered, but three very lean cows, and a pound or two of sugar. Twenty of the chief citizens of Pisa were now named to go to Florence, and there to make a formal surrender of their sovereignty to the magistracy. This was done with great pomp; and, for some months, nothing was heard in Florence but musick of all kinds, and shouts of triumph; and nothing seen but festivities, justs, tournaments, and magnificent processions. The Florentine name was never so renowned and glorious as at this period.

War, however, soon after took place between Ladislaus king of Naples, and the duke of Anjou, whose cause the Florentines espoused. They sent to his assistance, an army under the command of Paolo Orsini and Sforza. An engagement ensued, in which Ladislaus practised a stratagem pretty frequent in those days, namely, that of dressing up a number of officers in arms and robes, not to be distinguished from his own. The Florentines were victorious, and it is by all agreed that, if they had pursued their blow, they might have placed Louis of Anjou upon the throne of Naples. Aretin informs us, that Ladislaus used to say, "That the day on which he was defeated, his enemies had it in their power to be masters both of his person and kingdom; that the second day, they might have been masters of his kingdom, though not of his person; but that the third day, both his person and kingdom were out of their power."

The affairs of Ladislaus were soon retrieved; Sforza, by the enmity of Orsini, was obliged to go into his service; and Orsini, defeated by him,

was obliged to take refuge in Rocca Contrada. The Florentines now created Braccio their general, who bravely attempted and effected the relief of Orsini. The rapid success of Ladislaus, however, about this time, forced the pope to fly to Florence, but as violent parties existed in that city, he was not admitted. Braccio was, in the mean time, besieged in Todi, in the Perugian. The defence which he made was so noble, and his behaviour so generous, especially to some Neapolitan noblemen, whom he had made prisoners in a sally, that Ladislaus invited him to a private conference, in which he offered him very high terms, if he would enter into his service, which Braccio, like a man of honour, rejected. During this siege, Sforza is said to have saved Orsini from being taken prisoner, notwithstanding the enmity subsisting between them. The death of Ladislaus, soon after, gave tranquillity to Florence. A. D. 1413.

Some years after this, war took place with the Milanese; and the Florentines, attacking the army of the duke, were totally defeated. To give the reader some conception of the manner in which war was carried on at this time, it may not be improper to mention, that, in this total defeat of the Florentine army, no more than three people were killed; and those too not by the enemy, but by falling off their horses, and being suffocated in the mire. Civil dissentions were now renewed in Florence. The people began to perceive the difficulties and distresses under which their leaders laboured, and, in a short time, the city was thrown into a kind of civil war. At

this juncture the family and relations of John de Medici pressed him to avail himself of the high credit and popularity which he enjoyed, to be revenged on his enemies; but John was too good a patriot to listen to their advice. The Florentines were now joined by Antonio of Faenza, and a league was formed between them and the Venetians. This led to proposals for a peace, which by the mediation of the pope, was soon after concluded.

A. D. 1427.

During this war, the Florentine government had pursued every expedient they could devise for raising money; but all being ineffectual, they at last laid a tax upon the properties and landed estates of their subjects. This tax was called castato; and Machiavel says, that it obliged every man possessed of an hundred florins, to pay one half of them to the state. This, however, is to be understood with many restrictions; but it was complained of by all the cities and states subject to the Florentines. Amongst these, the Volterrans were the most clamorous, pleading that by their original contract, they had a right to be considered rather as allies than subjects of Florence. One of the Volterran deputies was Justus, a man worthy to have lived in a better state, who counselled his countrymen and fellow prisoners to make their submission to the Florentines, till better times should revolve. This advice was followed, and the deputies were suffered to return home. There he opened his mind to a very few of his intimate friends, particularly to one Giovanni, a fellow president; and though all appearances of success were against them, they no sooner proclaimed liberty

to their fellow-citizens, than the Florentine governor was seized, and Justus acknowledged lord of Volterra.

When the news of this revolution reached the Florentines, who held the Volterrans so cheap that they had not so much as kept a garrison in the city, they were not so much affected with the revolt, as alarmed at the example which it might set to other leading towns in their subjection. In the mean time, the Florentine commissaries had assembled all the troops they could draw out of the neighbouring garrisons and countries, and advanced toward Volterra, to second the efforts of their friends within the place. Justus, perceiving he had now no resource but in his own valour, and the strength of the city, was preparing to make a vigorous defence, when the Florentine party summoned a meeting of the presidents and chief citizens, before whom they laid all that had passed between them and the emissaries of Florence. Arcolano, brother to Giovanni the president, who was at the head of the Florentine party, expatiated on the service they would do their country, and the reliance they might have on the gratitude of the Florentine government, who would put the management of the city into the hands of the nobility, if they would immediately dispatch Justus, and admit the Florentine commissaries, who were lying with an army before their gates.

This meeting was so secretly held, that Justus knew nothing of it; and the company agreeing to Arcolano's proposal, he and some of his friends repaired to the palace, and drawing Justus into a private room, under pretence of business, they

murdered him, after he had made a brave resistance, and desperately wounded two
A. D. 1428. of the assassins. His death daunted his party so much, that Arcolano and his friends found no difficulty in opening their gates to the Florentines, who immediately possessed themselves of Volterra. But the Volterrans were miserably deceived in their expectations; for the Florentines, now both hating and despising them, obliged them to pay the catasto without the least abatement. Their nobility were treated in the same manner as their plebeians; their territory was dismembered from their city, and their few remaining privileges were abolished.

Florence, by this time had lost her noble and faithful patriot John de Medici, who bequeathed to his eldest son Cosmo an immense estate, and a double portion of his own spirit, patriotism, and moderation. The advice he gave his family upon his death-bed is full of the noblest sentiments of publick virtue. After the days of Atticus, no private citizen perhaps was ever known to have steered his course so happily through contending factions, with so unexceptionable a character, and in possession of so great an estate. The last circumstance is a proof of the immense wealth which the Florentine nobility, in those days, acquired by trade; for John was generous to profusion, and charitable even to weakness. He inquired no further into the circumstances or character of any man than his wants, which he no sooner knew, than, unsolicited, he relieved them. The highest dignities of the state had been in a manner forced upon him; and, by the

benevolent turn of his natural temper, he was more apt to pity than to punish offenders. His hands being free from corruption, as his heart was from ambition, he died in full possession of his country's love; where he owed his pre-eminence, not to his eloquence, which was but middling, but to his wisdom. He was succeeded, in his popularity as well as estate, by his eldest son Cosmo.

War now took place with the Lucquese, who applied to their allies for aid, and prepared for opposition. Their city was besieged by the Florentines, who were provided with a kind of artillery, which, by the force of gun powder, discharged large stones; but the Lucquese, perceiving that they did very little execution, came, at last, to despise them, and, every day, renewed their sallies, to the great slaughter of their enemies, by the help of musquets, or small fire-arms, to which the Florentines were strangers, and which, before this siege, were not known in Italy. The execution done by these fire arms, encouraged the besieged to redouble their sallies upon the besiegers, whose army was divided into two camps, from both of which they were driven by the besieged, and one of the Florentine generals narrowly missed being made a prisoner.

Philip Bruneleschi, who is so famous for reviving in Europe the true principles of architecture, was then in the Florentine camp; and he gave it as his opinion, that it was possible to turn the course of the river Serchio, so as to drown Lucca. As he was looked upon to be the best engineer of that age, his proposition, however romantick, might have proved successful, could the Florentine army have been prevailed upon

to encamp near enough the city, to interrupt the dispositions made by the besieged for defeating Bruneleschi's plan, which was to have turned the course of the Serchio, by means of a strong mound, so as by the lateral pressure of its waters, to have borne down the walls, or by their rising to have overflowed them. The Lucquese perceived his design, and raised a mound parallel to his, between their walls and the diverted course of the river, which served as a bulwark to the city. When the waters were raised to a proper height between the two mounds, the besieged, dividing their forces, sent one body in the night to attack that part of the Florentine camp that lay nearest the mound, and armed the other with all kinds of instruments for digging and boring, by which they broke down and pierced the Florentine mound, so as to overflow all the grounds on which the besiegers were encamped, an expedient which rendered it impracticable for them again to approach the city on that side. By the assistance of the duke of Milan, the siege was, soon after, raised. The war, however, went on with various success.

A. D. 1430.

In the mean time, Cosmo de Medici was accused to the state, by one Rinaldo, whose success was so great that, in order to ruin Cosmo, it was only necessary he should have a gonfalonier to his mind. The person most likely to answer his purpose was Bernardo Guadagno, who accordingly was chosen. Cosmo was then summoned to the palace, where he was put under arrest; and the senate assembling, the people created a balia of two hundred for the reformation of the state, and the trial of Cosmo; while

Rinaldo and his friends appeared in arms in the piazza where the balia was sitting. The debates concerning Cosmo lasted four days, during which time he was confined to a strong room called the Alberghettino, whence he had an opportunity of hearing and seeing the bustle that was made concerning his life, death, or banishment. This filled him with apprehensions lest his enemies should take him off by poison; and, for four days, he ate only a little bread. His keeper's name was Malavolti, who, observing Cosmo's distrust, considered it as a reflection upon his own honour. He declared that no foul dealings should be offered to him while in his custody; and to prove his sincerity, he ordered victuals to be brought, of which he tasted before his face. This generous behaviour filled the prisoner's eyes with tears of gratitude; and he won so far upon his keeper, that, being now redisposed to the comforts of society, Malavolti introduced to his company one Fargannacio, a man of wit and humour, intimately acquainted with the gonfalonier. Cosmo knew that money, at that time, went a great way in Florence; and, after supper, Malavolti having prudently withdrawn, Cosmo, after a most obliging address, gave Fargannacio a private token to receive, on his account, eleven hundred ducats at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova; one hundred of which he allotted to Fargannacio himself, and the other thousand was to be paid to the gonfalonier. This well-timed bribe, by softening the gonfalonier, mollified Cosmo's fate, and his sentence was, that he should be sent in exile to Padua. Rinaldo was thus disappointed, and Cosmo, two years afterward, was recalled from ex-

A. D. 1434. ile. Upon his return to Florence, he was received with acclamation, and distinguished by the glorious titles of "The Friend of the People, and the Father of his Country."

In the following year, war took place with Philip Visconti of Milan, and continued, with little interruption, till his death, in 1447. The eight succeeding years were spent in continual contests with Alphonso king of Naples.

In the year 1464, died Cosmo de Medici, who, though the private subject of a republick, had more riches than any king in Europe, and laid out more money in works of taste, magnificence, learning, and charity, than all the kings, princes, and states, of that or the subsequent age, those of his own family excepted. He lent vast sums of money to the publick, the payment of which he never required; and there was scarce a citizen in Florence whom he did not, at one time or other, assist with money, without the smallest expectation of its being returned. His religious foundations were prodigious. His private buildings were equally sumptuous. His palace in Florence exceeded that of any sovereign prince of his time; and he had others in different parts of the country. His munificence even reached Jerusalem, where he erected a noble hospital for poor distressed pilgrims.

In those works of more than royal expense, he might have been equalled by men equally rich; but his deportment and manner were unexampled. In his private conversation, he was humble, unaffected, unassuming. Every thing regarding his own person was plain and modest. The expenses of Cosmo were laid out for the

embellishment of his country, and begot no envy, because all his fellow-citizens partook of them. But with all that simplicity of life, he had bold notions of his country's dignity and interest. His intelligence was beyond that of any prince, and there was scarce a court in Europe where he did not entertain a private agent. By these means, he always had it in his power to disappoint, perplex, and confound the intrigues of his country's enemies. His presence was venerable, though his stature was mean; and his features appear to have been strong and harsh. He is not celebrated for learning, though he was the greatest patron of learned men of his age. He was never known to regret but two things: first, that he had not done all the good he wished to do to mankind; secondly, that he had not sufficiently aggrandized his country. Cosmo was no bigot; for one of his usual sayings was, "that a commonwealth was not to be defended by beads in men's hands." His countrymen inscribed his tomb with the title of "Father of his Country."

He was succeeded in the government by his son Peter, who, after a turbulent administration of six years, was followed by his sons Lorenzo and Giuliano. These princes had not long been promoted to this dignity, when a conspiracy was found against them by the family of the Pazzi, at that time the second in Florence. Giuliano was murdered, but Lorenzo escaped, caused the conspirators to be punished, and retained the government. The Florentines were, soon after, engaged in war with the pope and the king of Naples, which was, at last, put an end to by the able negociation of Lorenzo. Wars also followed with the Venetians A. D. 1477.

and the Genoese; and towards the end of the century, Lorenzo died, aged no more than forty-four years. This great man resembled his illustrious predecessors in all their publick and private virtues.

A. D. 1492.

Lorenzo was succeeded by his son Peter, who, by submitting to Charles VIII. of France, betrayed his country. Charles, soon after, entered Florence as a conqueror, and expelled the Medici. Peter afterwards unsuccessfully attempted to recover his authority. War with Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, followed, and during fifteen years, disturbed the tranquillity of Florence. The cardinal de Medici then usurped the government, and, two years after, by the death of pope Julius, was promoted to the papal chair, by the name of Leo X. He was succeeded by Julian de Medici, who was likewise elected pope, assuming the name of Clement VII. On his being made a prisoner by the Imperialists, a revolution took place in Florence, in favour of the popular government. But it was quickly reversed by the emperor Charles V. who, laying siege to the city, forced it to capitulate, and restored the family of Medici. Alessandro de Medici was first promoted to the government, but, being a worthless libertine, greatly addicted to venery, Lorenzo de Medici laid a plot for his destruction. He decoyed Alessandro to his own house, on pretence of having procured a beautiful young woman for his paramour, and there, with the help of one servant, he basely stabbed him as he reposed upon a couch.

A. D. 1513.

Cosmo de Medici now succeeded to the ducal crown, which he supported, with honour, during thirty-eight years.

A. D. 1537.

The encouragement he gave to the practice and study of all the fine arts, prove him to have been one of the greatest patrons of human genius that has appeared since the days of Augustus. The names of his sons were John and Garcia. The latter was of a furious vindictive disposition, and quarrelling one day with his brother, stabbed him to the heart with a dagger. His father taxed him with the murder, and the youth denied it, at first, with great warmth; but, being introduced into the room where the body lay; it is said to have bled (very possibly by chance) at his approach. He then threw himself at his father's feet, and confessed his guilt. The father, who had resolved on the part he was to act, solemnly desired his son to prepare for death; adding, that he ought to think himself happy in losing a life he was unworthy to enjoy, by the hands of him who gave it. He then unsheathed the dagger with which the cardinal had been murdered, and plunging it into his bosom, he fell dead by his brother's side.

Cosmo was succeeded by his son Francis, who died in 1587, not without suspicion of being poisoned by his brother Ferdinand, who succeeded him as grand duke, after having resigned his cardinal's hat, in the fifty-second year of his age. Ferdinand died in 1609, and was succeeded by his son Cosmo II. Cosmo was succeeded by Ferdinand, a prince of a more active disposition than any of his immediate predecessors. He married the daughter of the duke of Urbino, by whom he had two sons, Cosmo III. and Francis Maria, afterwards a cardinal, and died in the year 1670.

Cosmo III. in the year 1661, married Margaret Louisa of Orleans, daughter of Gaston duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. Cosmo, however, could not have made a more unfortunate match. The gaity and licentiousness of his wife, and the gloom of devotion and formality which pervaded his conduct, were little consistent. A separation took place, and all the authority of his most christian majesty could not induce him to invite her back. Cosmo obtained from the emperor Joseph, and from the pope, Innocent XII. the title of royal highness, and died, soon after, in the year 1700.

CHAP. III.

Abridgment of the Papal Power in Tuscany; Regulation for burying the Dead in one common Cemetery; Invasion of Tuscany by the French, and Resignation of the Grand Duke; Son of the Duke of Parma promoted to the Sovereignty.

JOHN GASTON succeeded his father, as grand duke of Tuscany, in 1701. This prince led a life of effeminacy and retirement in the recesses of his palace. During his reign, but without consulting him, the emperor and the French and Spanish kings, foreseeing that he would have no children, disposed of his states, which passed through several hands, according to the interests of those powers. At last, A. D. the grand dutchy of Tuscany was de- 1737. finitively annexed to the house of Austria; and to prevent these dominions from suffering by the absence of their sovereign, as well as that the revenues might be expended on the spot, and give to it animation, they were made the inheritance of the younger brothers of the imperial family.

The first of the princes of the Austro-Lorraine family, was Francis, who, in 1765, was followed by his brother Peter-Leopold-Joseph. During his reign, a new law was passed in the grand dutchy of Tuscany, regulating the age, terms, and manner of admission, of persons of either sex, into the monastick orders. This law

laid such restrictions with respect to age, publick examination, and many other particulars; obliged such a length of time to be taken in deliberation; and afforded so unbounded a liberty to the person deliberating, as effectually cured
A. D. 1775. those evils that arose from the unnatural violence and interested views of parents and relations, in compelling or circumventing those under their care, to embrace a mode of life, for which they were not ordained by nature. In 1782, the grand duke entirely abolished the inquisition in his dominions.

But it is to be regretted that he, who, in other respects, had done so much to the satisfaction and for the good of his subjects, should soon
A. D. 1786. after, have adopted a project totally repugnant to general opinion, and which carried with it the appearance of invading the common rights, and wantonly sporting with the tenderest feelings of mankind. The inhabitants of Florence were compelled eternally to resign the dead bodies of their dearest friends, within a short limited term after their decease, without any distinction of age, sex, beauty, rank, or quality, into the rude and vulgar hands of that lowest class of mankind, who alone could be found to submit to so odious an employment, as that of carrying dead bodies of every description to one common cemetery.

All the circumstances relative to this disposal of the dead were odious and horrible in the extreme. A machine, upon the construction of a waggon, and large enough to contain all the dead of the city, passed through it about midnight. The body was ordered to be thrown

headlong into this common receptacle, amidst carcases of every sort and in every state of distemper, which it already contained; so that the grave was not necessary in this instance, to level all distinction: friends and relations could neither see, hear, or know any further of the beloved husband, wife, child, or parent. The horrid waggon was driven in the dark, to a walled cemetery, at a few miles distance, where the bodies were thrown into one common grave: the thief, the murderer, and those whose carcases were already putrid with the most loathsome distempers, being indiscriminately blended with beings once possessed of learning, virtue, courage, the unspotted matron of high rank, and the modest delicate virgin, whose opening beauties seemed yet scarcely faded.

Such an outrage upon all the feelings and habits of humanity, upon those mournful duties and attentions to the remains of the deceased, which, in every age and every country, time and piety had rendered sacred to the delicacy of the softer sex, and to the laws of decorum and decency, has seldom been attempted. The dreadful enormities to which the bodies may, in some cases, be subjected, under the ruffian hands to which they are committed, will be felt by those who know the profligacy of mankind. It needs scarcely be mentioned, that this regulation excited the utmost disgust and horror in the inhabitants of Florence and its environs; particularly those of the superior orders, who abandoned their beautiful villas, whether in sight of the cemetery, or in the neighbourhood of the road through which the horrible night-waggon took its stated course.

Some years after this occurrence, Leopold resigned to his son Ferdinand Joseph-John, the dutchy of Tuscany, to mount the imperial throne,
A. D. 1790. nor did he, without regret, relinquish the delightful abodes of Tuscany. The people then took advantage of his absence to make loud complaints of his suppression of the religious orders, and to insist on their being restored. An insurrection took place at Florence, which appeared so dangerous, that a proclamation was issued by the regency, granting a full restoration of all that had been suppressed.

Nothing of importance occurs in the subsequent history of Florence, till the invasion of Italy by the troops of the French republick, when the grand duke and his family were forced to
A. D. 1798. take refuge in Leghorn, in consequence of a requisition to prepare quarters in his capital for five thousand French soldiers.

Three years after this occurrence, the French sought and actually found a pretext for the invasion even of Tuscany. General Sommariva, and the corps of Austrians, who were in the dutchy, to the number of two thousand five hundred,
A. D. 1801. were permitted to retire. The merchandize of the English found in Tuscany, particularly at Leghorn, though that city had been permitted to retain its neutrality, by the armistice of Marengo, was in open violation of publick faith and the law of nations, confiscated for the benefit of the republick. But the English had taken care to avail themselves of their navigation: so that the French treasury

was not much enriched by the plunder of the English merchants of Leghorn.

By the subsequent treaty concluded at Luneville, on the ninth of February, the grand duke resigned the government of Tuscany, and the eldest son of the duke of Parma was called to the throne, of which he took possession on the twenty-sixth of July.

NAPLES.

CHAP. I.

Reigns of the Lombard Princes of Benevento, &c. Arrival of the Normans, and consequent Change of Government. Naples and Sicily annexed to the Crown of Spain.

WHEN Charlemagne reversed the throne of the Lombard kings, and made Desiderius a prisoner, he, at the same time, obliged
A. D. 774. the dukes of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, to acknowledge his supremacy; but allowed them to exercise the same power and authority which they had enjoyed before his conquest. Of these three dukedoms, Benevento was by far the most extensive and powerful, as it comprehended almost all that part of Italy which is, at present, known by the name of the kingdom of Naples.

This flourishing and extensive dukedom was governed by Arechis, who had married
A. D. 781. one of the daughters of the last king of the Lombards, but had submitted and taken the oath of allegiance to the emperor Charles. Some years afterwards, however, he renounced this allegiance, declared himself an independent sovereign, and invaded the territories of the pope; but was, soon after, forced by Charlemagne to submit.

After the death of Arechis, the Beneventans sent ambassadors to king Charles, demanding Grimoald, the son of their late prince, with great submission and earnest entreaty. Charlemagne permitted Grimoald to depart, after he had agreed to the following conditions: that he should oblige the Lombards to shave their beards; that in writings, and on the money, the name of the king should be put before that of the prince; and that he should cause the walls of Salerno, Acerenza, and Consia, to be demolished. Grimoald, however, revolted soon after. In 793, his territories were invaded by the Franks; and, in 805, after having gloriously withstood the great power of the French, he died, and was buried at Salerno.

Grimoald II. then succeeded to the principality of Benevento, and became tributary to the emperor. A conspiracy was formed against this prince, by Dauferius, a noble Beneventan, who being delivered up, Grimoald was so merciful, as not only to pardon him, but to receive him into former favour; the traitor, however, reflecting upon the heinousness of his crime, was seized with remorse, and went a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, carrying a large stone in his mouth, by way of penance, which he never took out but at meals. Grimoald, a few years after, was murdered by Radelchis, count of Consia, and Sico, gastald of Acerenza, who succeeded him in the principality.

Sicardo afterwards succeeded his father in the government; but, being murdered by his nobles, was followed by his brother Siconolphus, and by Radelchis, between whom the emperor divided the principality. Af- A. D. 851.

ter these princes, Radelcar, Adelgise, Gaideris, Radelchis, and Aio, successively governed Be-
A. D. 888. nevento. Aio renounced his allegiance to the Greeks, who soon after, however, reduced all the cities of Benevento. During the government of his successors, Atenulphus, Landulph I. Landulph II. Landulph III. Pandulph, and Landulph IV. no striking political occurrence marked the history of this principality.
A. D. 1003. During the government of Pandulph II. the Normans first arrived in Italy, and, after a variety of adventures, established themselves in the country. Landulphus V. the son of Pandulph, having reigned twenty-four years, was expelled from the government by Richard I. the Norman count of Aversa, who caused himself to be proclaimed prince of
A. D. 1059. Benevento. Thus ended the dominion of the Lombards in this principality, which had continued during an uninterrupted series of one hundred and sixty years, from Atenulphus to this Landulphus V. whose children the abbot Desiderius mentions he saw going about as vagabonds, begging bread to support their miserable lives.

The successors of Richard in the government of Benevento, were Jordanus, Richard II. Robert, Richard III. Jordanus II. Robert II. and Roger, who assumed the title of king, and obtained the investiture of the dukedom of Naples. Naples had hitherto been governed in the form
A. D. 1130. of a commonwealth, and frequently elected its magistrates, and even its dukes, from among its own citizens. The Greek emperors, however, had still preserved in this dutchy the shadow of supreme dominion.

Some years after this, hostilities took place between pope Innocent and Roger, who took his holiness prisoner, and forced him to confirm to him the title of king. He was succeeded by William in 1154, by William II. in 1166, by Tancred, count of Lecce, in 1190, and by Frederick, in 1208. Frederick, two years afterwards, was elected emperor; and, being greatly delighted with the situation of Naples, resolved to make it the chief place of his residence. For this purpose, he enlarged and embellished the city, and erected the private schools, which had long flourished there, into an university. A. D. 1224. Frederick was engaged in perpetual contests with the popes. Innocent IV. even encouraged a conspiracy against his life; and he, in return, hired two assassins to murder Innocent. Frederick soon after died in Apulia, and was succeeded by his eldest son Conrad, whose pretensions, however, were opposed by Manfred, the natural son of his father. A. D. 1250. Conrad died four years after, and was succeeded by Conradin, whose army was attacked and dispersed by Manfred. In 1253, Manfred assumed the crown of Sicily; and in 1266 was defeated and slain by the army of Charles of Anjou, on whom pope Urban had conferred the title of king.

Conradin soon after laid claim to Sicily, and marched with an army into Italy, but was entirely defeated, and taken prisoner by Charles. The Germans in Conrad's army who survived the battle, continued in a body, and, conferring the command on one Stico, a blacksmith of Wurtzburgh, made good their retreat to Germany, when Stico, withdrawing himself pri-

vately from the army, returned to his forge. On the twenty-sixth of October, however, the young prince Conradin, then but seventeen years of age, was conducted, with the duke of Austria, Girando da Pisa, and some others, to a scaffold
A. D. 1269. in the market-place of Naples, where they were publicly beheaded, to the eternal infamy of king Charles, and the general regret of the spectators. Soon after this execution, the mother of Conrad arrived at Naples, with a large sum of money and many jewels for the ransom of her son, but finding him dead, she caused his body to be taken up and buried in a convent, whither in sorrow she retired for life.

Charles, being pleased with the situation of
A. D. 1273. Naples, caused Castel Nuovo to be rebuilt after the French fashion, and adorned the city with several new churches and monasteries. He repaired and strengthened the fortifications; caused the streets of the city to be finely paved with square stones, taken out of the Via Appia; and, to encourage traffick, made a new market-place, much larger than the former. He particularly enlarged the university, and bestowed upon it many new prerogatives and privileges, promising his royal protection to the youth of all nations who should go thither to study.

Charles, however, entirely lost the affections of the Sicilians by his arbitrary and oppressive government; and disobliged the pope by refusing to give his daughter in marriage to one of the Orsini. Nicholas, therefore, resolved to humble him, and entered into a conspiracy with John di Procida against him. On Easter Monday, the

chief of the conspirators had assembled at Palermo; and, after dinner, both the Palermitans and the French went, in a grand procession, to the church of Montreale, about three miles without the city. While they were sporting in the fields, a bride happened to pass by with her train, who being observed by one Drochets, a Frenchman, he ran to her, and began to use her in a rude manner, under pretence of searching for concealed arms. A young Sicilian, inflamed with resentment, stabbed him with his own sword, and, the conspirators taking advantage of this occurrence, two hundred French were immediately murdered. The enraged populace then ran to the city, calling out, "Let the French die, let the French die!" and, without any distinction of age or sex, massacred all of that nation, even those who were in the churches. The chief conspirators then left Palermo, and excited the inhabitants to murder the French all over the island. Eight thousand persons are said to have perished on this occasion. Several authors relate that, on the same day, and the same hour, at the ringing of the bell for vespers or evening prayers, the French throughout the island were massacred, not only by laymen, but also by the Dominicans, Franciscans, and other monks; and that the rage of the murderers was so furious, that they did not even spare their own relations, but ripped up those Sicilian women who were with child by Frenchmen, and dashed their infants against the walls; the whole massacre being over in two hours. A. D. 1282.

The Sicilians now offered their allegiance to

Peter, king of Arragon, who, in consequence, was soon after crowned at Palermo, and, from this period, the history of Naples and Sicily is one unvaried and uninteresting detail of similar scenes of war and invasion, during nearly the space of two hundred years. The story of Jane of Naples, however, may be worth relating. This princess, when only five years of age, was betrothed to Andrew, the second son of the king of Hungary. Upon the death of her grandfather Robert, in 1343, Jane was appointed his successor, and, two years afterwards, the pope granted a bull for the coronation of her husband Andrew. The princes of the blood had used their utmost endeavours to prevent the granting of the bull; but, their hopes being disappointed, they now formed a conspiracy to murder the king, with the consent even of Jane, who was openly accused of adultery with her cousin Lewis, prince of Tarento, and several other persons about her court. She is said, by many authors, to have conceived a disgust for her husband, on account of his barbarous Hungarian manners, his insolence and debility, which last was owing to his excesses after the consummation of their marriage. Andrew, having gone with his queen to Aversa, on the 18th of September, about midnight, was called out of his bed-chamber by one of the conspirators, under pretence of some important news from Naples. He had no sooner entered the hall adjoining, than they threw a rope about his neck and strangled him, by hanging him over a balcony into the garden, at the same time torturing him after the most cruel manner, as

A.D. 1345.

appears by informations taken concerning the murderers, by order of pope Clement *. The conspirators being discovered by an Hungarian maid, left the corpse in the garden, and fled. Jane appeared but slightly concerned at the murder, and next morning returned to Naples, whence she wrote to the pope and Lewis, king of Hungary, giving them an account of the fact, and assuring them of her innocence. In the mean time, she was delivered of a son, who was named Carobert, after his grandfather, and soon after created duke of Calabria.

The pope, upon hearing of the murder, expressed great resentment and grief, and queen Jane, under pretence of securing the kingdom against the threatened Hungarian invasion, married Lewis of Tarento, without waiting for his dispensation. As her husband was her full cousin, the marriage was looked upon as incestuous, and she was besides accused of having had a criminal intimacy with him during the life of Andrew. The king of Hungary, however, soon after, entered Naples with a black standard, on which his brother was represented as strangled. Jane, in the mean time, fled to Provence, and afterwards to Avignon, where she was kindly received by the pope, who, on condition of her presenting to him Avignon and its territory, declared her innocent. Yet she soon after poisoned her second husband, Lewis; she poisoned also her third husband, James of Majorca, and married a fourth hus- A. D. 1362.

* Alii vero receperunt eum per genitalia, et adeo traxerunt, quod multi, qui decebant se vidisse, retulerunt quod transcenderunt genua.

band, Otho of Brunswick. Jane, however, soon after suffered the punishment due to her crimes.

After a long separation, Alphonsus of Arragon, at last united both Sicily and Naples under his dominion. During the government of his son, these kingdoms were unsuccessfully invaded
A. D. 1495. by John of Anjou, and during that of his grandson, by Charles VIII. of France.

In the reign of their successor Frederick, Naples was invaded by the kings of France and Spain, who divided it betwixt them; but a difference taking place about the limits of their shares, the French were expelled from the kingdom, and
A. D. 1504. the government at last, devolved to the king of Arragon. Upon the death of Ferdinand, Charles V. succeeded to Naples, as well as the rest of the Spanish monarchy. In his reign, Francis I. of France, also invaded Naples, but was by him made a prisoner, and
A. D. 1524. carried into Spain. During the government of Charles, and that of his successors, Philip II. Philip III. and Philip IV. Naples was governed by the viceroys of Spain, and suffered from their oppression.

It was under the government of the duke of Arcos, the viceroy of Philip IV. that the Neapolitans, led by Massaniello, a poor fisherman, rose against the Spaniards, and compelled the viceroy
A. D. 1647. to a dishonourable treaty. They even renounced their allegiance to Spain, but soon after returned to it. Upon the death of Philip IV. Charles VI. succeeded to the crown of Spain, and adopted Philip of Anjou, afterwards Philip V. as the heir of all his dominions.

CHAP. II.

Abridgment of the Papal Power in Naples; Naples surrendered to the French, and constituted a Republick; recovered by the combined English, Russian, Neapolitan, Turkish, and Portuguese Army; and the Sovereignty of the King re-established.

IN 1700, Philip succeeded to the crown of Naples and Sicily. His title, however, was opposed by the house of Austria, which, while it contended with that of Bourbon for the crown of Spain, envied it also the sceptre of Naples. Its views of aggrandizement were not in vain: a conspiracy procured the government of Naples for Charles II. son of the emperor Leopold, Philip's competitor. By the conditions of the general peace, Naples again owned the sway of Philip; but Sicily was given to the duke of Savoy. The emperor Charles VI. however, by force seized upon Naples some years afterwards; and by cession, obtained also Sicily. He reigned over them for several years, till Don Carlos, being vested with the rights of his father, who was yet alive, conquered these two kingdoms, and fixed the seat of his government among his subjects.

A. D. 1719.

A. D. 1734.

During the two centuries immediately preceding his reign, the sovereigns residing at a distance had drained these kingdoms of both men and money; but now prosperity was restored by the presence of a mild and economick king. New vigour was given to manufac-

tures; the commerce of the Levant, then nearly extinct, was revived; a strict police was established; and an order and regularity, before unknown, were introduced into the juridical and financial departments of the state. Aided by these wise institutions, Don Carlos changed the face of his kingdoms; and some years afterwards, when, on the death of his brother Charles VI. he went to take possession of the crown of Spain, left them in a flourishing condition to his son Ferdinand IV.

A. D. 1759.

In the year 1767, the Jesuits were expelled from Naples. Without ceremony or leave being asked, they were all conveyed into the pope's dominions; the vicinity of whose territories made every scheme of opposition fruitless. The court of Rome complained loudly of this outrage, and presented memorials to all the foreign ministers in that city. In these memorials, the pope complains, that the king of Naples has violated, in the first place, the divine right, by the manner in which his soldiers entered into holy places, and by the sequestration of the ecclesiastical revenues; secondly, the right of mankind, by forcibly depositing some of his subjects in the dominions of his holiness, and by marching his troops into a country that was not his own; and lastly, the right of good neighbourhood, in not communicating his design to the pope, both as the head of the church and as a temporal prince, who has the supreme sovereignty over Naples. These memorials produced the same effect, which the remonstrances of weak princes to their powerful neighbours generally do: they were carelessly answered, and no further notice taken of them. The cardinal Or-

sini, Neapolitan minister at Rome, made a verbal declaration to the following purport: "That every sovereign having a right to drive from his dominions persons convicted of being enemies thereof, no other means could be found of getting rid of those fathers, than causing them to be escorted to the ecclesiastical state, since the kingdom of Naples had no other frontiers; and that, as to the confiscation of the effects of the society, it no less belonged, by the same right of sovereignty, to the royal treasury." It is said, that the number of Jesuits transported from the kingdom of Naples, exclusive of those from Sicily, to the papal dominions, amounted to 1500.

Nothing eminently important in the subsequent history of Naples occurs till the period of the invasion of Italy by the French, A. D. 1796. when, after some immaterial hostilities, a suspension of arms was agreed to between the king of Naples and the republican commander. The multiplicity of operations, at that time undertaken by the French, did not permit them to exert severity with a prince who was able considerably to oppose them; and, about the middle of October, a peace was concluded between the two powers. Naples, however, was required to pay the sum of eight millions either in money or in naval stores.

Two years after this, however, the friends of the French republick were ordered to quit the Neapolitan territories. General Mack was also dispatched, by the imperial court, to organize the Neapolitan army on the Austrian plan; the greatest efforts were made, and the greatest

army, known in that kingdom for ages, was collected. It was with reason that the king of Naples made these preparations. The wrath of the French was kindled to the highest pitch, at the unfeigned exultation he had, in common with his people, displayed at the success of the English in the battle of the Nile. He had gone out to sea, to meet admiral Nelson, and received him with undissembled joy. His victory over the French, and the destruction of their fleet, were celebrated at Naples, as triumphs in which the whole kingdom was deeply interested: the English cockade was worn by multitudes, who expressed, without disguise, that the time was come for the utter downfal of the French.

The king now put himself at the head of his army, accompanied by general Mack, and marched into the territory of the Roman republick. At first, he was successful; but as soon as the French had recovered from their surprise, and collected some troops, the Neapolitans, though superior in force, were defeated in every engagement. Shattered and dispirited, they retreated with precipitation to Naples. The king, with part of the troops, repaired to his capital: the general, with the remainder, undertook the defence of Capua; whence he sent a letter to Championet, the French commander, proposing an armistice, on account of the severity of the weather and the badness of the roads. The Frenchman returned for answer, that, as his army had overcome the difficulties of both the way and the weather, with their usual patience, he should not halt until he had made his entry into Naples. The French were

victorious in every rencounter, and three successive propositions were made to them for an armistice with the Neapolitan army. This was agreed to, in the following year, on terms very hard to the Neapolitans. A. D. 1798.

By the time that the armistice was concluded, the king of the two Sicilies, with the royal family, had been for some days after a tempestuous voyage, safely landed at Palermo. It was not without much reluctance that the king quitted the seat of his government. At length, however, having created the prince Pignatelli viceroy, he embarked on board the British ships, commanded by lord Nelson, during the night of the first of January, with his court, accompanied by the British, Austrian, and Russian ambassadors. For the tranquillity of the city, a civick guard was formed; and large sums of money, as well as arms, were distributed among the Lazzaroni, for the purpose of encouraging and maintaining their wonted loyalty.

But a revolutionary party now arose in Naples, and waged open war with the royalists. The Lazzaroni, who were in the royal interest, took possession of all the arms, and, forming themselves into bands, ran through the streets, invoking the names of the king and St. Januarius. General Mack was noted as a traitor, and the remains of the army which he commanded, as jacobins, corrupted by French gold. Even the viceroy was become an object of suspicion, and, apprehensive of the danger that awaited him from both sides, prudently withdrew to his barge, that lay in the bay, and set sail for Sicily. The soldiers, terrified, by the numbers and the menaces of the Lazzaroni, deserted to the French ranks,

and, in two days, the Neapolitan army was totally disorganized and annihilated. General Mack even demanded an asylum from Championet.

The Lazzaroni, exasperated at the escape of their prey, collected themselves in a body, and rushed, like madmen, on the French advanced posts, at Ponte Rotto; routed the advanced guards; and penetrated even to the line. Returning to the city, they put to death all whom they suspected of attachment to the French. The revolutionary party, headed by the prince Moliterno, now seized the castle of St. Elmo; intelligence of which was the signal for Championet to make the attack. He advanced; every thing was ready for an assault, and Naples was on the point of being given up to all the horrors of a storm, when Championet, anxious to prevent so great and so unnecessary a waste of life, addressed a proclamation to that effect, by the chief of a squadron, to the magistrates of the city. But Naples had now no magistrates. Such of the inhabitants as had not taken up arms, had shut themselves up in their houses, or concealed themselves from the fury of the Lazzaroni, who, to the number of sixty thousand, had sworn to defend themselves to the last. The messenger of Championet was received by a volley of musquetry. A ball broke the pommel of his saddle; and, on his attempting to make them understand the general's proposition, another volley forced him to retreat.

The French, therefore, prepared the attack. Orders were given for two battalions, stationed on Capo-di-Monte, to march, in the silence of the ensuing night, to join the patriots in St. Elmo, when the citadel was to open a general discharge of

all its artillery upon the city; upon which, also, general Elbe was to open all his batteries. The whole army, investing the city, were to rush forward, and bear down every thing that opposed them. Columns, armed with torches, were to carry fire and desolation wherever they could penetrate. The Lazzaroni, drawn up in columns, anticipated the attack, with astonishing address and courage. When repulsed, they returned again to the charge, and several times repulsed the French in their turn. At length, they were forced to yield some ground, of which they disputed every foot, with part of their artillery. The French became masters of several streets. The Lazzaroni were harassed and pressed, but not vanquished. Night overtook the combatants, but the fire was still continued. The French troops, overcome with fatigue, divided themselves into two equal portions. One kept up the fight, whilst the other lay down to rest amidst corpses and ruins. At the dawn of day, the fury of the combatants redoubled, and final victory was yet uncertain.

From the exhausted state of both parties, a momentary cessation took place from mutual slaughter. In this interval, Championet spoke to some of the inhabitants who had crept forth from their houses, and assured them of protection. He professed profound respect for St. Januarius, to whom he put up fervent prayers for the preservation of human lives, and the restoration of tranquillity to the unhappy city of Naples. The report of the general's respect for St. Januarius was carried into the ranks of the Lazzaroni. The cry of *Vivent les Francois*, *Vive la Republique*, began to be heard. A guard of honour was sta-

tioned, by the French, at the church of the tutelary saint. The consign was, *Respect for St. Januarius.* The general twice paid his homage at the shrine of the apostle. His conversion flew like lightning through the city. Numbers of the Lazzaroni crowded round him as he rode on horseback through the streets or squares, and kissed his boots. The avenues to the church of St. Januarius were filled with Lazzaroni, and other inhabitants of Naples: one of the chiefs of the Lazzaroni, placing himself at the head of the French, harangued his terrible soldiers, ordering them to cease their fire and ground their arms. He was heard respectfully and obeyed. A shout of general joy succeeded to the voice of mourning and the shrieks of despair. The war was ended, peace restored, and Naples reduced under the power of the French. It was, soon after, constituted a republick, and had a provisionary government established. Trophies of victory, and ambassadors from Naples, were now sent to the directory of France, who, contrary to the engagements of Championet, shamefully laid claim to the whole of the publick, and much of the private property of the Neapolitans.

A. D. 1799.

A few months afterwards, however, the great successes of the Austro-Russian army forced the French commander to evacuate Naples. Soon after this, cardinal Ruffo, at the head of the royalist army, consisting of more than twenty thousand men, and some hundreds of Russians, having defeated the levies made by the republican government, marched against the capital, which, on the 20th of June, surrendered by capitulation. A few days after, a coalesced army of English,

Russian, Turkish, Portuguese, and Italian troops, came into the port, directed by admiral Nelson and captain Trowbridge. To the treaty which the cardinal had agreed to with the prince of Carracioli, and some other leaders of the revolution, admiral Nelson refused to accede. A body of English, Russian, and Portuguese troops, having obtained possession of the castles of Ovo and Nuovo, on the 26th, under the command of captain Trowbridge, invested the castle of St. Elmo, on the 29th. Seven batteries, armed with cannon of the largest bore, were successively erected, and, on the 11th of July, thirty pieces of ordnance were ready to play on the fort. The batteries of the place being almost all dismounted, and the works very much shattered, the garrison demanded to capitulate on the same day; and the terms were agreed to, and signed on the 12th. The garrison, after having laid down their arms, was to be embarked for France, on condition of not serving again till an exchange should take place. It was agreed, that the patriots of Naples, composing a part of the garrison, should be given to the allies; and that the booty found in the fort, should, at the same time, be put into their hands, to be restored to the lawful owners.

The king of the two Sicilies, who had hoisted his flag on board the Foudroyant, the English admiral's ship, saw also his standards waving once more over his capital and the forts which defended it. The only towns not yet reduced under his authority, were Capua and Gaeta. Capua surrendered by capitulation, to commodore Trowbridge, on the 28th. The French garrison laid down their arms on the glacis, on the

29th, and marched towards Naples, to be there embarked for France. The surrender of Capua was, two days after, followed by that of Gaeta. General Girandon, who commanded, at the same time, in both places, signed both capitulations, and in both consented to surrender, unconditionally, the revolted Neapolitans, who had taken refuge in Gaeta and Capua, or composed part of their garrisons. In consequence of this, it is painful to relate, that the court of Naples appointed a special commission, which without much formality, pronounced sentence of death on such as had taken an active part in the late revolutionary government. A dreadful scene of executions ensued, or rather a massacre of the most distinguished among the patriots, in which even some noble ladies were sacrificed, to a spirit of vengeance and a thirst for blood.

GENOA.

CHAP. I.

Establishment of the Republick; Election of the First Doge; War with the Venetians; Revolutions of the Government; Doria restores the Liberties of his Country.

THE city of Genoa, or Janua, is the capital of a small territory in the northern part of Italy, extending along the southern shore, from the river Macra, to the Var, and separated from Lombardy, on the north, by the Appenine mountains, and on the south washed by the Mediterranean sea.

In the year 498, Genoa was conquered by the Goths; in 638, by the Lombards; and in 774, it was erected into a marquisate by the emperor Charlemagne. In 950, the Franks having lost all authority in Italy, Genoa assumed the republican government.

During a period of nearly four hundred years, from the year 950, till 1339, the history of Genoa consists of an uninteresting detail of their wars with the Venetians and Pisans. But, at the expiration of that period, the resentment of the people being excited against the nobles, they insisted, in a tumultuous A. D. 1339.

manner, upon having an abbot of their own choosing; and twenty of the people, with the consent of the captains, assembled for that purpose. While the mob were impatiently expecting their decision, a half-witted mechanick leaped upon a bench, and called out, "Let Simon Boccanera be abbot." He was instantly seconded by his audience, who surrounded Boccanera, and compelled him to accept of a sword, as the badge of his office. The twenty electors, terrified by their clamour, immediately broke up their assembly, and joined in the common voice. Boccanera having, at length, quieted the uproar, thanked them for the honour they intended him; but, as none of his family had ever condescended to be an abbot, he desired them to choose another, and returned the sword. They were now silent for a moment; then exclaimed, "Let him be our supreme ruler." The captains alarmed, under pretence of preventing disturbances, begged him to acquiesce with the people. Boccanera accordingly declared, that he was ready to be abbot, or lord, or whatever they pleased: when the multitude cried out, with one voice, "You shall be our lord, not abbot!" He again addressed them, and said he perceived their intention, that he should be joint-ruler with the two captains; but they loudly answered, "No!" which being repeated, several times, they, at length, cried out, "Let him be duke, let him be duke."

The commons, having thus transferred the government from the nobles to one of their own body, vainly imagined that they might now, without restraint, commit the greatest enormities, and immediately began to plunder the houses of the nobility; when Boccanera, with

great steadiness, opposed their fury, and at length quieted them, by causing some of the chief rioters to be executed on the spot. Some nobles who conspired against him were likewise put to death, and four years afterwards, Boccanera resigned the government and retired to Pisa.

John de Murta and John de Valente were his successors, the latter of whom carried on war with the Venetians, so unfortunately, that Genoa was filled with terror and confusion, A. D. 1353. and the council of the city, being apprehensive of a civil war, thought proper to confer the government of the republick on John Visconti, archbishop and lord of Milan. Three years after this, however, Boccanera was again chosen duke, but soon after poisoned. He was succeeded by Gabriel Adorno, and Dominick Fulgosio, during whose government, a rupture happened between the republick and the Cypriots; owing to a dispute about precedency between the Venetian bajulus and the Genoese consul, at the coronation of the young king of Cyprus. Each nation supported its claim in a tumultuous manner; but the dispute being decided by the king's uncles, in favour of the Venetians, the Genoese resolved to assert their right by open force, and, for that purpose, came to the palace next day, with arms under their clothes.

The Venetians, having secret notice of their intention, accused them of a design against the king's life; and the arms being found upon them, they were immediately put to death, A. D. 1372. without any trial, which was likewise the fate of all the other Genoese in the island, except one, who escaped grievously wounded.

The republick, inflamed with resentment against the Cypriots and Venetians, decreed a large fleet to revenge the indignity, on board of which was embarked a body of horse and foot, with many large battering engines. This fleet, in which were several noble volunteers, arrived at Cyprus in the beginning of October, under the command of Peter Fulgosio, the duke's brother, who, in a few days, made himself master of Famagosta, the capital of the island, when he ordered some of the grandees, concerned in the massacre of the Genoese, to be put to death. He soon after reduced the whole island, and took one of the king's uncles, with the sons of another uncle, and sixty nobles and knights, prisoners. He afterwards restored all his conquests, except Famagosta, to the king, who promised to pay annually, for a certain term of years, forty thousand florins to the Genoese. As a security for the performance of the treaty, the king's uncle and his two cousins above mentioned, with several nobles, were sent on board sixteen gallies to Genoa. The admiral continued a year longer at Cyprus, when, appointing a garrison in Famagosta, he set sail for Genoa, where he was received with the greatest honours. A present was made him of ten thousand florins; he and his eldest sons were exempted from all taxes during their lives; and an anniversary solemnity was appointed to be held on the 10th of October, the day on which Famagosta surrendered. The Genoese now claimed the exclusive privilege of trading to Cyprus.

War also took place with the Venetians, who received a signal defeat. The Genoese even laid siege to the city of Venice, but were obliged to

retire with loss. A peace was, soon after, concluded. During the course of this war, Fulgosio was deposed. His successors were Nicholas Guarco, Leonardo de Montalto, Antonioto Adorno, James Fulgosio, Anthony de Montalto, Peter Fulgosio, Clement de Premontorio, Francis Justiniani, Anthony de Montalto, a second time duke, Nicholas Zoalio, and Antonioto Adorno, also a second time duke. A. D. 1378.

During his government, the French invaded the territories of the republick, and at last obtained the sovereignty. Some years after, however, the Genoese revolted, and declared the marquis of Montferrat captain of the republick. Two years after they again created a duke, conferring that dignity on George Adorno, who was succeeded by Thomas Fulgosio, and Jeramo Adorno. In 1421, the duke of Milan obtained the government; and, in 1436, the Genoese revolting, conferred their supremacy on Leonard Guarco, whose successors were Raphael Adorno, Barnabas Adorno, Janus Fulgosio, and Ludovico Fulgoso. A. D. 1409.

In the year 1458, the sovereignty of the republick was accepted by the king of France; and, during the ensuing sixty years, it was either enjoyed by him and his successors, or by the duke of Milan. At the expiration of that period, however, Doria gave liberty to Genoa. He advanced to the city with five hundred men, the gates were opened by his friends, he seized the principal posts, and, without drawing his sword, took possession, the French retiring to the forts. A. D. 1528.

No sooner were the French driven from Genoa, than Doria's name was echoed in every

street: some expressed their real sentiments by demonstrations of joy, others followed the current of fortune, and many thought to conceal their aversion to this hero, and the liberty of the republick, by joining the popular acclamation. Doria, without examining into the real opinions of individuals, resolved to profit by general appearances and the present humour of the people. He assembled the nobility, and restored the government into their hands, declaring that he pretended to no greater share in it than became him as a nobleman. He re-established the ancient form of the republick, and received from his country all those testimonies of gratitude which a conduct so disinterested seemed to deserve.

After having finished this glorious enterprise, Doria retired to his palace to enjoy in tranquillity the fruits of his past labours. His countrymen admired his moderation and prudence: they honoured him with the title of the father of his country, and the restorer of publick liberty; and, to transmit to posterity the memory of their obligations, they erected a statue with the following inscription:

Andreæ Auriæ civi opt. feliciss. que vindici atque autori publicæ libertatis: senatus populusque Genuensis pos.

It was now necessary to expel the French garrison from the forts. Montjean made several attempts to relieve the besieged; but all his endeavours were foiled by the vigilance of the Genoese. However, his ill success put him upon a scheme which served, at least, to raise his reputation. It was to surprise Doria in his palace,

the one side of which was washed by the sea, and the other joined to the walls of the city. Taking with him fifty horse and two thousand foot, selected from the whole French army, he set out for Genoa, travelled twenty-two Italian miles in one night, and arrived about day-break at the place appointed for the rendezvous. Under favour of a morning fog, he seized upon all the avenues leading to the palace, without being discovered, and was first seen by a footman, at a very little distance from the gate. Immediately he awaked Doria, who scarcely had time to save himself by a back-door, and throw himself into a small boat, that carried him to the gallies lying in the road.

Ten years after this transaction, Hercules Fregosa and Guy Rincon made an attempt to surprise Genoa; they had entered the valley of Posseveri, when Andrew Doria, with the emperor's consent, detached Spinola and Antonio Doria with seven hundred men, to the relief of his country. When they arrived, they found the city in the utmost consternation, and the women flying with their children to the mountains. Rincon had already reached the gate of St. Thomas, and planted his scaling ladders against the walls, while Fregosa made another attack on the side of Bisagno. Baptista Corso had sustained the first shock of the enemy, but was just on the point of yielding to superior force, when Spinola and Doria came up, renewed the engagement, drove Rincon from the walls, and thus delivered Genoa from the most dangerous attack she had lately sustained. Doria was like the tutelary deity of the state; he first gave it liberty, and then pro- A. D. 1536.

tected it by his vigilance and foresight, even when removed at a distance.

Soon after, the revolution attempted by Fieschi was planned, and, by his accidental death, defeated. Doria also died some years after. He was the greatest captain, and the most experi-
A. D. 1560. enced and successful naval officer, of his age. Doria was truly the father of Genoa: he rescued it from the usurpation of foreign princes; raised it to the highest pitch of glory, by his wisdom and valour; and would have died with a character unblemished, had he not polluted his hands with the blood of his countrymen, after the last insurrection, and persecuted the unhappy family of Fieschi with a severity unbecoming a great mind. So happy was Doria in all his enterprises, so wise in his schemes, and so intrepid and alert in executing them, that the republick always thought their army invincible under him, and, for that reason, created him perpetual duke and commander of all the Genoese fleets and armies.

A rebellion against the Genoese government now took place in Corsica. The insurgents were headed by one Corso. The son of Doria was
A. D. 1565. sent to oppose him. Corso was attacked, defeated, and almost made prisoner, his army cut in pieces, and his camp plundered. His life was saved by the generosity of one of his officers, who lent him his horse, and suffered himself to be taken by the Genoese, who barbarously hanged him on the next tree, with this label, "Behold the prince of generosity!"

An infamous project was, soon after, formed for betraying Corso into the hands of the Genoese. An ambuscade was designed to draw

him to an action, in the heat of which an insidious servant was to shoot him. Corso fell into the ambuscade, and, while he was making astonishing efforts to extricate himself, he was shot in the shoulder by the base Vitello (that was the servant's name). The wound brought him immediately to the ground, but not till he had first discovered the hand by which he fell. He upbraided Vitello, and cried out to his son, a youth of seventeen, "Fly, my son, we are betrayed;" but the son, staying to rescue his father, was surrounded by a number of horsemen. He fought valiantly, and, at last, fell by their hands, near the body of his father.

During the subsequent ten years, Genoa was divided by the factions of the old and the new nobility. After that period, she enjoyed peace and felicity for the space of forty-eight years. She was then engaged in a war with Savoy and France, and was distressed by the conspiracies of Vachero and La Torre. A. D. 1640.

CHAP. II.

Tyranny and Expulsion of the Austrians from Genoa; Democratical Insurrection; Formation of the Ligurian Republick; Siege, Surrender, and Evacuation of Genoa; Re-establishment of the Ligurian Republick.

A. D. 1701. DURING the war of the Spanish succession, the Genoese, wavering and uncertain in their choice of political party, were exposed to the extortions of both the French and the Imperialists. This was even the fate of Genoa in the quarrels of France and Austria. Their opulence held out a lure the most flattering to the hordes of Pandours, Croats, and other irregulars, of which the army of the queen of Hungary was composed at the time of her invasion of Italy.

Genoa, after seeing her territories ravaged in successive contests, was, at last, obliged to surrender to the marquis de Botta, the Austrian general, who took peaceable possession of the city, and, having placed in it a garrison, imposed a contribution of twenty-four millions, to be paid within a month. The Genoese imagined not that it would have been so high, and they still less expected the demands which followed: namely, that they should furnish clothing for thirty thousand troops; that they should restore to the queen the diamonds and other pledges she had given; as security for the large

sums borrowed from them, and which, consequently, they would lose; and that they should furnish as a free gift, tents, wood, forage, and provisions, for the army. From those who did not give with a good grace, the imperialists took by force.

A disposition ever dangerous, a gloomy silence, proved full well the sufferings of the Genoese. But Botta, dreading not the consequences of power abused, required the senate, contrary to the terms of the capitulation, to deliver up their heavy artillery. Refusal would have been vain, and the Germans in triumph dragged the guns through the streets of the city. The carriage of one happening to break, in a narrow street, the German officer who commanded, incensed that the Genoese showed no readiness to assist in repairing the damage, struck one of the spectators with his cane. The latter in return stabbed the officer with his knife. The Germans in vain attempted to revenge their wounded commander; the people took the part of their countryman, armed themselves with whatever they could find, and seizing a few pieces of artillery, directed them against the Germans, who, retiring to their posts, made some resistance, but were quickly driven from them, and, soon after, from all the territories of the Genoese. A. D. 1746.

In the subsequent history of this republick, nothing particular occurs till the commencement of the French revolution, and the invasion of Italy by the armies of that republick. Upon this occasion, the French made the strictest promises to observe the respect due to the sovereign-

ty of Genoa, on its own territory; and they were kept, accordingly, on this occasion, to the particular satisfaction of the Genoese, who were exceedingly solicitous to preserve their neutrality in the midst of hostilities which it was not in their power to remove from their neighbourhood. The mass of the inhabitants of Genoa, however, was evidently inclined to the French system, but the nobles still continued inveterate to democratical principles. In the districts situated along the mountainous country, bordering upon the territories of Genoa, numbers of banditti infested the roads; and were privately encouraged by the Austrian emissaries at Genoa, whose residence in that city was strongly suspected to be connived at by some leading men in the Genoese government. These suspicions, and the repugnance of the nobles to favour popular notions, prevented a cordial correspondence from subsisting between this state and the French republick.

A. D. 1794.

As the nobility of Genoa exercised the supreme sway, they were justly apprehensive that the French, if successful, would destroy the aristocracy, and erect a government entirely democratical. From that motive, they opposed the projects of the French, by every clandestine impediment they could throw in their way; but the torrent of that irresistible fortune, which attended the triumphant arms of France, overwhelmed them in common with the rest of Italy. The majority of the people were desirous of a popular government. Feuds had, of course, arisen among them and the dependants of the nobility. A desperate fray took place betwixt both parties,

shortly after the signing of the preliminaries of peace between the emperor and the French. Elated by that event, the republican party raised a violent commotion in the city, and proceeded to open force, in support of their pretensions: but many of them were killed, and the insurrection was suppressed. As their principal leaders had fallen, their projects were considered as at an end, and they were treated with excessive severity. Determined, however, not to yield, they applied to Bonaparte for protection. This was readily granted, and the French having taken possession of the city, the enemies to the aristocracy could no longer, with safety, be opposed. Their opponents prudently yielded in time, and agreed to the establishment of a commonwealth, under the name of the Ligurian republick, on the principle of a perfect equality of rank and privileges among all the classes of society. The French system of legislation took place in every respect; and the territory of Genoa was divided into communes and municipalities, in imitation of France. A. D. 1797.

Owing to the successes of the Austro-Russians, Genoa and its small territory were the only possessions remaining to France, in Italy, at the close of the year 1799. In the following year, Genoa was the head quarters of the French, commanded by Massena, who, on the 5th of April, was suddenly surprised by the appearance of the English fleet, under lord Keith, in the gulf, off the city, which was now blockaded in form; while, on the other hand, the army of general Melas approached closely to it by land. The Austrians immediately made a general attack on the French army. The French were

driven as far back as Ruha, which they entered in the evening.

Though forced to retire, the French, with much bravery, defended the city till the 15th of May, when the English fleet began to bombard Genoa every night. The populace, particularly the women, now ran about the streets, setting up frightful cries for peace; and a general insurrection against the French would have ensued, if the efforts of the French soldiers to restrain it had not been seconded by a number of individuals among the inhabitants. But the illusions of hope, at last, vanished. Provisions were entirely exhausted; even the last horses and dogs were nearly consumed, when Massena received a letter from general Melas, inviting him to an interview with lord Keith, and the generals Otto and St. Julian, who offered him a capitulation on the most honourable terms. To this first overture he replied, that he would consider of it; though, in reality, he had nothing further to consider. The day after, he received another message with the same terms. He then sent the adjutant-general Andreaux, under pretence of some business relating to the prisoners, to Rivolo, in order that he might receive the proposals of the enemy, and enter, without any further delay, into a negociation for peace.

The first article of capitulation proposed by the allies, was, that the army should return to France, but that the general should remain a prisoner of war—"You, Sir," said lord Keith to Massena, "are worth twenty thousand men." But Massena said, "that no negociation would be gone into, if the word capitulation was to be made use of." On the 4th of June, the allied

generals, having departed from their first proposal, resumed the negociations. In the mean time, the city of Genoa, containing a population of one hundred and sixty thousand souls, though a prey to all the horrors of famine, remained quiet. A great number of old people, women, and children, reduced to the necessity of attempting to sustain nature by herbs, roots, and impure animals, died of diseases or inanition. This melancholy picture was often exhibited to view, by the rising sun. Mothers were often found dead with hunger, and children, at the breast, also dead or dying.

On the fourth of June, the principal articles for the evacuation of Genoa were agreed on between the French adjutant-general Andreaux, on the one part, and major-general Rest, a staff officer in the imperial service, with the English captain Rivers, on the other. On the fifth, lord Keith, commander of the combined naval forces in the Mediterranean, general Otto, commander of the blockade of Genoa, with general St. Julian, who was charged with the political part of the negociation, were met by general Massena, commander in chief of the French army in Italy. Each of these parties was accompanied by only two or three gentlemen. A. D. 1800.

In this conference, Massena displayed much finesse under the cloak of an apparent gaiety, which formed a complete contrast with the gravity of the other contracting party, and was attended with this advantage, that it did not look as if he was greatly alarmed for the situation of his army. And it was perhaps owing to that ease and gaiety of manner that he obtained, in the

end, all that he had demanded. In the whole of the conference, lord Keith treated Massena, as the general often acknowledged, in a very civil and handsome manner. His lordship disclaimed all hard conditions, and said, "General, the defence you have made has been so heroick, that it is impossible to refuse you any thing you ask." At length, Massena signed the treaty for the evacuation of Genoa, and the contracting parties mutually gave hostages. The Austrians took possession of the gates of the city, and the English of the entrance into the harbour.

The battle of Marengo, however, soon after, changed the fate of Genoa; it was again surrendered to the French, and again the Ligurian republick was established.

MILAN.

Brief Description of the Dutchy; Anciently governed by the Insubres, Romans, Goths, and Lombards; Anecdote of Theodorick, king of the Ostrogoths; Severity of Frederick Barbarossa toward the Milanese; War between the Factions of Nasi and Otho; Sketch of the Actions of Matthew the Great; Subsequent History of the Dutchy till the Formation of the Cisalpine Republick.

THE dutchy of Milan has been generally represented as the most agreeable part of Italy; and whoever contemplates the fertility of its soil, the salubrity of its climate, and the richness of its scenery, will readily admit its title to such a distinction. No country has, perhaps, undergone a greater variety of revolutions, or suffered more severely from the ravages of war: but the industry of the people, and their advantageous situation for commerce, have always restored, after a short period, the blessings of abundance.

This charming spot is about one hundred and twenty miles long, and one hundred miles broad: being bounded by Switzerland on the north; by Mantua, Parma, and Placentia, on the

east; by the territories of Genoa on the south; and by Savoy, Piedmont, and Montserrat, on the west.

Milan is justly celebrated on account of its extent, population, and elegant structures. The cathedral is an astonishing Gothick pile of marble, five hundred feet long, and two hundred broad; and its roof is supported by one hundred and sixty pillars, each measuring twenty-seven feet round. It is, also, embellished with a profusion of statues and other ornaments; and its treasury is said to be of an immense value. The Ambrosian library, replete with manuscripts, medals, and paintings, and furnished with a good observatory and a botanical garden, was founded by cardinal Frederick Borromeo. The citadel is accounted one of the strongest fortifications in Italy: and the other publick edifices are extremely beautiful, but too numerous to come within the limits of our work. The belles-lettres and mathematical sciences are cultivated here with tolerable success; a considerable trade is carried on in raw and wrought silk, gold, and silver lace, embroidery, &c.; and the soil produces such abundant crops of pulse, corn, and pasturage, that the Milanese, after reserving a sufficiency for home consumption, leave a considerable surplus for exportation.

Pavia, anciently the capital of the Longobardick kingdom, is situated on the river Ticinum, about twenty miles south of Milan, and is remarkable for its university, founded by Charlemagne, and for several other literary institutions. The church and convent of the Carthusians are inexpressibly beautiful; and some other edifices belonging to the ecclesiasticks are worthy

a traveller's attention: but upon the whole, the city is gone to decay.

Lodi, the chief town of the Lodesan, is pleasantly situated on the Adda; contains a considerable number of inhabitants; and carries on a brisk trade in a kind of porcelain. The city is spacious and well built; and the adjacent meadows have been long famous for their richness, as producing the celebrated cheese, erroneously called Parmesan.

Cremona, the principal city of the Cremonese, is situated on the north bank of the Po, which communicates, by means of a canal, with the Oglio. It is, generally speaking, well built, and adorned with a cathedral, sixty-two convents, five alms houses, and several churches: but its inhabitants are neither opulent nor numerous. The other principal towns of the Milanese, are Como, Novara, Mortara, Cortona, Bobio, Vigevano, and Alexandria: the last of which acquired its name from pope Alexander III. who contributed to its foundation.

The dutchy of Milan appears to have been successively governed by the Insubres, the Romans, the Goths, and the Lombards. At the time of the irruption of Brennus and Bellovesus, the first Gauls who rendered themselves formidable in Italy, it was a place of very considerable note; but as the inhabitants had espoused the cause of Hannibal, in his first battle near the Tesino, it was soon attacked and provinciated by the Romans. The Christian religion is said to have been introduced about the year 60, after the birth of our Saviour, and though it was long in a languishing condition, its church eventually produced some great and amiable men.

Towards the close of the fifth century, Milan was seized by Odoacer, king of the Heruli, and afterwards by Theodorick, king of the Ostrogoths, who established in it his court. It fell into the hands of the Burgundians, during an irruption of that people into Italy, but was soon recovered by Theodorick; and the Milanese prelates, on this occasion, redeemed with their own money, the prisoners that had been taken by the enemy.

An anecdote has been related of Theodorick, during his residence at Milan, which, as it shows his rigid adherence to the administration of justice, merits our attention. A poor widow having complained that she had not been able, in the course of three years, to obtain a decision in a law-suit which was pending between her and a magistrate, Theodorick called the judges into his presence, and told them, that unless they concluded the business on the ensuing day, he would administer justice himself. In consequence of this declaration, the process was immediately determined: and after a severe reprimand from their offended monarch, the judges were doomed to suffer decapitation, for having prolonged an affair three years, which had appeared to require but a few moments consideration.

Under the reign of Vitiges, one of the successors of Theodorick, the Milanese resolved on shaking off the Gothick yoke, and requested Belisarius to assist them in that design. This circumstance, however, proved extremely unfortunate; for though the Goths were repulsed, they soon returned with augmented forces, massacred all the inhabitants to the number of three hundred thousand, and laid the city of Milan in ruins.

After it had been revived by Narses, and be-

gan to resume its flourishing appearance, Milan submitted to the Lombard kings, and remained in their possession till the defeat of Desiderius, and the consequent annihilation of the Longobardick monarchy.

The sovereignty was now vested in archbishops, who received their authority from the victorious Charlemagne; but the government was left in the hands of two consuls. It appears, however, that toward the end of the tenth century, the Milanese retained much of their ancient spirit of independence: for the mere proposal of erecting a citadel to serve as a check upon the city, cost the life of the duke of Suabia, who had been sent thither by the emperor.

The prelates seem to have been very fond of sovereign power, and their measures were generally supported by the nobility; but in process of time, the people rejected their government, and an insurrection broke out, in which the archbishop and the grandees were expelled the city. The troubles occasioned by this circumstance continued three years, and then ended in such an accommodation as usually takes place between persons who rather fear than love each other.

In the year 1106, the citizens dismissed the imperial officers, made choice of several magistrates for the administration of justice, of war, and the finances; and thus established a republican form of government.

Frederick Barbarossa was highly incensed at these proceedings, and sent a powerful body of forces against the revolted city, which was soon compelled to surrender, on very severe terms. The emperor deprived it of all its privileges, and insisted that the archbishop and his clergy, with

the consuls and nobility, in their habits of ceremony, barefooted, with swords placed to their throats, and the plebeians, with ropes about their necks, should repair to his camp to solicit pardon, and there pass, in the most humiliating manner, between the ranks of his soldiers, who were drawn up under arms.

Though necessity occasioned a compliance with these distressing terms, the Milanese conceived an implacable hatred against their oppressors, and when they had acquired a tolerable force, they took an ample revenge, not only by renouncing their allegiance, but also by expelling the empress, whom they mounted on an ass with her face toward the animal's tail. Barbarossa swore that such a transaction should never again be witnessed in Milan; and, in order to fulfil his threat, he razed the walls of the city to their foundations, caused the plough to pass over them, and strewed the ruins with salt. The inhabitants, however, soon recovered their strength, and Milan became larger than before.

About the year 1212, the Milanese plebeians took up arms against their rulers, and chose for their leader one Martin Torriano, who soon expelled the archbishop and all the nobles, and established a democracy. The archbishoprick becoming vacant by the death of the exiled prelate, one of the pope's legates nominated Otho Visconti, a man of a respectable, though not opulent family, and this nomitation was confirmed by the Roman pontiff.

Torriano was so highly offended with this election, that he seized the archiepiscopal palace and all its effects, and shut up the new prelate so

closely in Arona, that he was soon compelled to abandon the place, and leave his partisans to make the best terms they could for themselves.

Upon the death of Torriano, his brother Philip was created podesta, or pretor, of Milan; and the civil dissentions of Como, enabled him also to take possession of that principality. He used every possible method to confirm his authority, and to acquire popularity; but notwithstanding all his exertions, the party of the patricians acquired great strength, and Philip rapidly lost ground in the affections of the people.

Napi, or Napoleone, Torriano, succeeded Philip in the government, and acted with unrelenting hatred against the nobility upon all occasions. He even made war upon the prince of Lodi, and put him to death, for having succoured the Milanese; and he soon afterward, stormed Vigevano, in order to strike a terror into the marquis of Montserrat, who had offered to patronise the noble fugitives.

Notwithstanding the success of his arms, Napi soon lost his popularity, and a papal ful- A. D.
mination against him and his adherents, 1265.
accelerated his destruction. The exiles had at this time rendezvoused near Vercelli, and while Napi's nephew, Paganini, was on his march to take the government of that place, they opposed him in a body, and put him to death. This circumstance exasperated Napi so highly, that he murdered all the friends of the nobles who fell into his hands, and sent their bodies, in waggon loads, to be buried with their ancestors.

Meanwhile, Otho, though reduced to the utmost distress, reanimated the spirits of his partisans, and induced them to choose for their gene-

ral, one Squarcini Burri, a person of great rank and known courage, whose daughter was married to Matthew Visconti, afterwards called Matthew the Great. At the same time the marquis of Montserrat consented to renew the confederacy against Napi, and the king of Spain was persuaded to assist the exiles with a numerous body of troops.

Otho and Burri had no sooner received this timely reinforcement, than they undertook the siege of Vigevano, then possessed by their enemy; but after some skirmishes with the garrison, they thought proper to retire. However, they surprised a strong port belonging to the Milanese and the Comese; and their humanity upon that occasion rendered them extremely popular at Milan and Como, to the great mortification of the Torriani.

Shortly after these transanctions, Otho implored the assistance of Clement IV. and his petition was so ably seconded by the cardinals, that his holiness immediately exerted himself in behalf of the distressed prelate, and actually laid the Torriani under an interdict.

In the mean time, Napi finding himself hated by the Milanese, sent an embassy to Rome, in order to deprecate the anger of the sovereign pontiff: but Clement positively refused to admit the ambassadors to his presence, and ordered them to quit his territories without delay. It was now deemed advisable to crave the interference of his Neapolitan majesty, and that monarch appointed ambassadors of his own to the pope, who soon procured an audience for those of the Torriani. The Milanese ambassadors launched out into furious invectives against Otho, whom they represented as a licentious marauder,

at the head of a banditti; and Otho, who was present at this audience, recriminated, with great spirit, upon the ambition, craft, and cruelty of his opponents. After a patient hearing of both parties, his holiness promised to relieve Milan from its interdict, and to send a legate to adjust the existing differences. Shortly after this transaction, the papal chair became vacant by the death of Clement; and the emperor Rodolph, having accepted an invitation to Milan, constituted Napi his governor, and vicar-general in Lombardy.

No sooner had Gregory X. assumed the sovereign pontificate, than he promised to espouse the cause of Otho, and to confirm all that his predecessor had done on his behalf. But he soon gave a convincing proof of his dissimulation, by creating Napi's nephew patriarch of Aquileia, and by consenting that the deluded Otho should be privately murdered at Placenza. Otho, however, escaped the treachery; and the pontiff again promised him his protection: but, at the same time, thought it necessary to inform his friends that the state of affairs in Christendom did not admit of his doing complete justice.

Upon the death of pope Gregory, the exiled nobles flocked to Otho, and chose for their leader Godfrey, count of Langusco, who was equally famed for his noble descent, and inveterate hatred to the Torriani. This personage, having assembled a numerous army of German and other mercenaries, advanced toward the Lago Maggiore, and, at the instigation of the Visconti family, many towns through which he marched voluntarily opened their gates for his reception. The important towns of Arona and Anghiari, A. D. 1276.

also submitted to his arms, and Otho himself reduced the country of Sepri, situated between the Tesin and the Olon.

Exasperated at the loss of such considerable territories, and alarmed at the rapid progress of the exiles, Napi summoned all his allies to his assistance, and caused the military chariot of Milan to be drawn to the field, in token of his resolution to conquer or die in the attempt. Having sent his son Cassoni, with a detachment of German cavalry, to check the advance of the enemy, he put himself at the head of the main body, and marched toward Anghiari.

A battle soon ensued, near the banks of the Guasara, which proved fatal to the exiles: for, notwithstanding the gallant exertions of Otho's general and officers, the troops were routed with prodigious slaughter, and Godfrey, Theobald Visconti, and thirty-four other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners, and doomed to suffer decapitation.

In a few weeks after this event, one Locarna, who had been cruelly imprisoned by Napi, brought a powerful reinforcement to Otho, and encouraged him to attempt the reduction of fort Sepri. This advice was cheerfully taken, and Sepri soon fell into the hands of its assailants; but Napi took the field with so powerful an army, and attacked his rival with such resistless fury, that Otho's troops were totally routed, and himself compelled to retire, first to Zornigo, and afterward to Canobi, an opulent town on the banks of the Lago Maggiore.

Otho's spirit seems to have augmented with his increasing difficulties; for, although sixty-five years of age, destitute of money, deprived

of his most zealous adherents, and exposed to every kind of fatigue, the vigour of his mind still remained unabated, and he seemed to regard all his recent defeats and disappointments as so many incentives to fresh attempts. This firmness and undaunted heroism, excited universal admiration; and many noble families, who resided among the Alps and Appenines, contributed, with alacrity, to the support and assistance of so extraordinary an old man. With the aid of the marquis de Montserrat, Otho reduced the town and citadel of Anghiari, and laid close siege to Arona; but, while the garrison of the latter place were drawing up articles of capitulation, Cassoni appeared at the head of a powerful army, and compelled the exiles to retire with precipitation.

After a violent altercation, and some acts of hostility between the Comese, and the faction of Viti, Otho was solemnly invited to Como, and his troops now bore the imperial eagle on their standard; for he had learned that the court of Rome was altogether base and interested, and that he was far safer in reposing on the emperor, who was sufficiently able to protect him. The example of the Comese was soon followed by the inhabitants of the circumjacent country; so that Otho soon found himself at the head of a numerous army, and he acquired an able general in the person of Ricardo Langusco, brother to Godfrey, who had perished by Napi's sanguinary commands.

After various marches and counter-marches, Otho received intelligence, that his enemies were assembled at Decio, and that their disorderly situation offered an excellent opportunity for a

surprisal. Otho was overjoyed at this information, and immediately marched his troops, under care of Ricardo, toward the place, whilst himself appeared in his sacerdotal vestments, as if desirous of acting only in his ecclesiastical capacity. The march was conducted with profound silence and decorum: and at dawn of day, they rushed into the town with such fury, that Napi had scarcely time to put on his armour, or to rally his dismayed forces. After an obstinate conflict, victory decided on the part of the exiles; and Napi himself, with several illustrious persons of the Torriani family, were made prisoners. Locarna, being intrusted with the care of his principal foe, caused him to be shut up in an iron cage, where his nails and hair grew to an enormous length. He submitted, however, to this dreadful reverse of fortune with great equanimity; but interceded strongly for a favourable treatment of his son and nephew, whom he had carried with him to the field.

Upon the first intelligence of this great event, Oldred, who had been left governor of Milan, convened the magistrates, and ordered the people to take up arms; but, instead of effecting his purpose, he had the mortification to perceive a general defection, and was soon obliged to take refuge in the castle. Cassoni then attempted to influence the townsmen on his father's behalf, and, with this view, erected his family standard in the market-place: but, finding all his efforts ineffectual, he retreated to Cremona, and from thence to Parma.

Scarcely had Cassoni retired from Milan, before Otho, at the request of the inhabitants, hastened thither and made a pompous entry. His

speech on that occasion breathed such goodness and clemency, that all apprehensions were immediately removed, and the government of the city was cheerfully placed in his hands. He had now an opportunity of remunerating his zealous friends Locarna and Ricardo, and he accordingly evinced his gratitude by making the former master of his horse, and the latter governor of Milan. He also founded several religious houses, and instituted certain festivals to commemorate the anniversary of his victory. The subsequent departure of some mal-contents from Mount Orfano, left him at leisure to apply himself to the discharge of his civil and ecclesiastical functions, in both of which capacities he is said to have excelled most of his contemporaries. A. D. 1277.

But, whilst Otho was employed in cultivating the arts of peace, and restoring his country to the full enjoyment of tranquillity, Cassoni, Raimond of Aquileia, and some others, pillaged several towns upon the banks of the Adda; passed the Lambro; and even carried their incursions to the gates of Milan. Hereupon Otho drew out the chariot of war, and, with the assistance of the marquis de Montserrat, took the field against his invaders: but, after a few skirmishes, a peace was concluded by the intervention of the marquis, and of an eminent lawyer named Canrode. This negociation seems to have involved Otho in great difficulty, and, at the instigation of his friends, he positively refused to ratify the terms which related to the persons and estates of the Torriani. This breach of faith appears to have been the greatest stain that Otho ever incurred, and his enemies did not

fail to turn it to his disadvantage with the neighbouring states and princes.

About this time the unfortunate Napi expired in the midst of filth and wretchedness, after a melancholy confinement of near twenty months. Some historians have asserted that his corpse was dragged from the prison with every mark of ignominy, and buried in a ditch; but others affirm that he received a decent sepulture.

The death of Napi, and of some other prisoners of his family excited much discontent among the Milanese, and induced Raimond and Cassoni to renew hostilities. Otho, however, made suitable preparation for their reception, and, in the very first engagement which took place, Cassoni was defeated and slain, and his forces were entirely routed. Some time after this battle, the marquis de Montserrat seemed inclined to aspire at the sovereignty of Milan, and actually gave much disquiet to Otho; but all his machinations were frustrated for the present, and the archbishop procured a body-guard from the emperor, which, for some time, overawed his enemies.

The flames of war, however, were soon rekindled, and all the hopes of the Torriani revived, by a breach which happened between the Comese and the Milanese, concerning some boundaries. Matthew, the nephew of Otho, defeated the Comese with great slaughter, and carried off a prodigious booty; but, the fortune of war changing, his enemies soon turned upon him, and expelled him from Milan. However, he found a secure asylum at the imperial court, and received some distinguishing marks of the emperor's favour and affection. The expulsion of Matthew was soon

followed by the death of Otho, who, A. D.
though he had never been bred in the 1295.
field or the cabinet, obtained immortal renown both as a soldier and politician, and exhibited a striking proof that repeated misfortunes may be subdued by perseverance and intrepidity.

Matthew was born in the vicinage of the Lago Maggiore, on the very day that the emperor Frederick was put to death by his natural son Manfred. He lost his father during his childhood, but he found an affectionate friend and protector in his uncle Otho, whom he is said to have resembled, in corporeal strength and mental firmness. It has been already observed, that he was driven from Milan by the Torriani; and it appears that, on the death of his imperial patron, he was reduced to great difficulties. Upon the arrival of the emperor Henry VII. in Italy, the Milanese were involved in serious commotions by the emperor's demand of a subsidy, and the consequent altercations among the opposite factions. During these troubles, Matthew and his son Galeazzo were both arrested: but the prudence of their conduct eluded the impending danger; and, after some time, Matthew was invested with the supreme command of Milan; from which period, he devoted himself entirely to the imperial interests.

Assisted by three sons of consummate abilities, and followed by a veteran army, Matthew now bade defiance to opposition, and not only crushed the power of the Torriani faction, but also gained such repeated and splendid victories, that he soon became master of almost all Lombardy, and the epithet of "Great" was unanimously bestowed upon this successful hero, by the general voice of

Italy. His great renown, however, raised him many enemies; and a sentence of excommunication was fulminated against him, on account of his presuming to act against the Guelphs, who were under the protection of the pope, and Robert king of Naples.

About this time, the emperor Henry was taken off by poison: but neither the death of his patron, nor the ecclesiastical thunder, discouraged the valiant Matthew from carrying on the war against the Guelphs, whom he defeated, in three successive battles, at Aldins, on the banks of the Arbe, and at Monte Catino.

Upon this occasion, Bertrand Vasco, the pope's legate, resolved to exasperate the Milanese against Matthew, by laying their city under an interdict. This scheme produced its desired effect, and the inhabitants immediately nominated twelve ambassadors to Bertrand, praying him to deprecate the pope's indignation. The proud ecclesiastick, however, refused to withdraw his censures unless Matthew were expelled; and this refusal threw the populace into complete confusion. But, after some time, Galeazzo marched with a numerous army to his father's assistance; and, by a well-timed exertion of his natural eloquence, resettled the tranquillity of the government.

Matthew, who had now attained the venerable age of seventy-two years, made a formal resignation of his authority to his son Galeazzo. He then made a solemn profession of his religion before the altar, and affirmed, upon oath, that he had never merited the censures which had been drawn upon him by a proud and vindictive ecclesiastick.

Soon after this solemnity, he was seized with

a violent fever, and ordered himself to be conveyed to Crescentini, where he gave his sons much salutary advice, and had the happiness of breathing out his spirit in their arms. Such was the end of a man who, at one time or another, is said to have subdued all his enemies, but who never was known to take a severe revenge upon any. Painful as such an assertion must be to ourselves and our intelligent readers, historical justice obliges us to add, that the place of his sepulture was long kept secret, lest, as he died under the papal censure, his remains should have been torn from the grave by his implacable enemies.

Upon the death of Matthew the Great, and the accession of Galeazzo to the government, Philip of Valois invaded Milan. But as his army was greatly inferior to that of the Milanese, he thought proper to negociate a peace, and returned with no great credit, to his own country.

Galeazzo was succeeded, in 1327, by his son Actio, and in 1335, by his brother Luchino, who no sooner undertook the government, than conspiracies were formed against him by his most intimate friends and relations. After these events, Luchino grew reserved, distrustful, and morose. The character and behaviour of his wife Fusca did not a little contribute to his chagrin. She was of the family of the Fiesques of Genoa, one of the noblest in Italy. In person she was graceful, witty, and gallant, beyond any of the Lombard ladies; but she was lascivious, gay, dissolute, and expensive. She committed some scandalous excesses during a short stay at Venice, and on hearing that her husband was acquainted with her infidelity, she administered to him a slow poison, which deprived him

of the remainder of his strength, so that his death was imputed to his gout and other ailments. Fusca was afterwards so much struck with remorse for what she had done, that she retired to a life of mortification and austerity.

John, and afterwards Galeazzo, were the successors of Luchino. Galeazzo married his daughter Violante to prince Lionel, duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III. of England. The marriage was celebrated on the 29th of May, in the great church of Milan. The magnificence and splendour of the nuptials were inexpressible. Above two hundred English noblemen and gentlemen attended on the bridegroom, and at every course, magnificent presents were sent to the attendants of the English prince, such as few kings in Europe, at that time, could have equalled. As to the entertainment itself, it was so extravagant, that, when the dishes were carried off the table, there were more than sufficient for ten thousand men. Francis Petrarch, the famous Italian poet, was one of the guests on this occasion. The English prince, however, did not long survive his nuptials, but died at Alba, on the 17th of October, not without great suspicion of poison.

A. D. 1368.

Galeazzo was succeeded, in 1378, by Bernabo, his brother; some years after, by Galeazzo, first duke of Milan: in 1402, by John; and, in 1418, by Philip. John was an infamous tyrant. His favourite was Squarcia Giramo, of a noble family, who acted as the purveyor of his inhumanities, by procuring for him the largest and fiercest mastiffs, who were maintained on nothing but human flesh. When he was murdered, there

was not a living creature who took the least concern about his body, which would have lain unburied had it not been for the care of a common prostitute, who kept it for some time amongst roses; a mark of regard that deservedly procured for her a handsome provision from Philip, his brother and successor, by which she was enabled to marry with credit. The same day Giramo, the infamous minion of John, was discovered in a lurking hole by the people, and dragged by a hook in his nose to the street before his own palace, which was levelled to the ground, and there put to death with the most exquisite tortures.

Philip was perpetually engaged in war. He reduced under his control Placentia and Genoa; but, when deserted by his general, Carmagnola, his fortune gradually declined. He married his natural daughter to Sforza, which laid the foundation of that adventurer's claim to the sovereignty of Milan. Sforza, however, had great difficulties to conquer before he could make good his claim. Most of the powers of Italy were his enemies, and, though he had a great party in the Milanese, yet that city was far from being united. Many of its inhabitants inclined to a republican government, and they ultimately proved the most powerful. Sforza, to give them as little time as possible for deliberation, moved with his army towards Milan, and offered the inhabitants his services. But by this time they had established themselves into a kind of republican government.

It is certain that, if a legal title by birth lay to the succession of the Milanese, it was vested

in the house of Orleans, and the kings of France. Lewis XII. accordingly put in his claim, as grandson of John Galeazzo; and for some time was successful: but the insolence of the French was such, that they were driven out of the Milanese by the Swiss and Maximilian Sforza; Francis I. of France, in his turn, defeated the Swiss and Milanese, and obliged the descendants of the Sforza family to relinquish the government for a pension of thirty thousand ducats a year. Francis Sforza, the son of Maximilian, however, being assisted by the emperor and the pope, regained possession of the Milanese about the year 1521; and eight years after the French king gave up his claim upon that dutchy. Upon the death of Francis Sforza, in the year 1536, the emperor Charles V. declared the Milanese an imperial fief, and granted the investiture of it to his son Philip II. king of Spain, in whose family it continued till the year 1706, when the French and Spaniards were driven out of it by the Imperialists, and the emperor again took possession of it as a fief.

By the treaties which followed the war of the Spanish succession, the dutchy of Milan was ceded to the house of Austria, in 1714, and secured to it by a treaty concluded at Vienna, in 1736. The administration was placed in the hands of a vice-governor, a minister of state, a senate and other functionaries.

In the year 1767, the government of Milan, including all Austrian Lombardy, published a law, by which the rights which the pope had hitherto exercised over ecclesiasticks were transferred to a council, established for that purpose at Milan. All ecclesiasticks were obliged to sell

the estates which they had become possessed of during several years past; and no subject, whether ecclesiastick or secular, was permitted to go to Rome for the purpose of soliciting any favour, except letters of indulgence, without the consent of the same council.

Two years after this, Milan was visited by the emperor, who listened to every complaint that was addressed to him, and redressed every grievance with which he became acquainted. Advertisements were posted up, that all persons, even the meanest of the people, should have free access to him upon any cause of business, or any complaint of grievance; when the people quickly experienced the difference between the most despotick and mildest of administrations. To secure this happiness in future, the emperor appointed a council, composed chiefly of natives, of the greatest worth and honour, who should serve as a check upon the governors, and act as mediators and judges between them and the people. A. D. 1769.

In the year 1775, the regency of Milan gave an instance of that general disposition to reduce the powers of the church, which at that time pervaded Europe, by abolishing for ever the tribunal of the inquisition in that dutchy, and appropriating its estates to the support of an hospital for orphans. Some years afterwards, an edict was also published at Milan, suppressing many religious orders, decreeing their estates to be sold by publick auction, and appropriating their value to the exigencies and demands of the state. A. D. 1782.

Soon after the invasion of Italy by the French, in 1796, the exploits of their armies opened to

them the road to Milan, the capture of which was to give them the possession of Lombardy, and effect the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy. Bonaparte entered Milan on the 15th of May, five days after the battle of Lodi, which, conformably to his opinion, proved wholly decisive of the fate of Lombardy. Not long after, an insurrection of the Milanese threatened the safety of the French in that dutchy. Bonaparte, on receiving intelligence of it, arrested a number of suspected persons, and ordered those to be shot, who had been taken in arms. The castle of Milan was soon after surrendered: two thousand men then yielded themselves prisoners of war, and one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with an immense quantity of ammunition and stores, fell into the hands of the French.

In the following year, the Milanese, and the other districts of Lombardy were formed into a commonwealth, under the name of the Cisalpine republick; and, in April 1799, Milan and its dependencies were recovered by the Austro-Russian army. In the month of June, in the following year, the Milanese, as well as the rest of Lombardy, were reconquered by Bonaparte, and the Cisalpine republick again declared an independent state.

A. D. 17 97.

A. D. 1800.

Two years after this, the Cisalpine commonwealth was denominated the Italian republick, and Bonaparte was elected president of the government, the seat of which was transferred to Lyons, on account of the contiguity of that city to Paris. The Roman catholick religion is now announced to be that of the state, and the sovereignty resides in the whole of the inhabitants.

A. D. 1802.

SAVOY.

Geography of the Country; Magnificent Structures erected by Charles Emanuel III.; Siege of Turin by the French; Abdication and subsequent imprisonment of Amadeus; Savoy ceded, by Charles Emanuel, to the French Republick.

SAVOY, the Sabaudia of the ancients, is bounded by France on the west; by France and Piedmont on the south; by Piedmont, the Milanese, and Switzerland, on the east; and by the lake of Genoa on the north. The face of the country is rugged, and wretched to the last degree, being mountainous or rather rocky; between the hills, in a few contemptible vallies, the inhabitants with the utmost efforts of industry and labour, make shift to earn a miserable subsistence. There are, however, a few exceptions to this wretchedness.

From the year 1000 till 1580, a long list of princes governed Savoy; but their reigns were marked by no striking political event. In 1580, Charles Emanuel invaded the marquisate of Saluces, and wrestd it from the crown of France, thereby gaining a frontier for his capital of Turin, which before was exposed to the inroads and

insults of his enemies. Upon his death, Victor, Amadeus I. succeeded to the government, and, with equal success, waged war against the Spaniards. Francis Hyacinth, Charles Emanuel II. and Charles Emanuel III. were his successors. To the last of these princes, Turin owes some of her most magnificent structures, at the present day; he also cut the amazing passage through the rock Mont Viso. This is an arch five hundred geometrical paces in length, and broad enough for two loaded mules to walk abreast, for transporting goods to and from France and Italy. He was equally magnificent in all his other publick works; and is said to have lost his life in the following remarkable manner: Being one day in the menage or riding school, the young prince's horse, in going through his exercise, threw him; which accident shocked his father so much that he was immediately taken ill, and died in a few days.

A. D. 1635.

A. D. 1675.

Charles Emanuel never acknowledged any legitimate son but his successor Victor Amadeus II. When that prince grew up, he married Anna Maria of Orleans, daughter to Philip, duke of Orleans, and Henrietta Ann of England. He imitated the conduct of Lewis XIV. at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, by persecuting his protestant subjects the Vandois, with all the fury and malice of a bigot, but this inhuman conduct cost him a great deal of blood.

The interests of Amadeus also engaged him in the war of the Spanish succession. He secretly negociated with the

A. D. 1701.

allies, and, as his conduct could not be concealed from the penetration of the French court, Lewis ordered his generals to make the duke's troops prisoners. Upon this outrage, the duke arrested the ambassadors of France and Spain, a regiment of French horse, and all the French who were at Turin: a measure which drew from the French king the following laconick letter: "Monsieur, since religion, honour, alliance, treaties, and your own hand writing, are of no force between you and me, I have sent my cousin, the duke of Vendome, to explain my mind to you; and he will give you four-and-twenty hours to consider what you have to do." This threatening letter had an effect very different from what the writer intended. The duke was one of the most penetrating princes in the world, remarkable for accommodating his situations to his interest; but on occasion of this insolent letter, he acted with surprising spirit and constancy. Though he lost town after town, though his army did not exceed twelve thousand men, though he had scarce territory enough to subsist even these, and though he was but ill supported by the imperial court, he could not be brought to abandon his allies. At last, on the fifth of June, the French besieged his capital of Turin. His dutchess and his clergy pressed him to comply with the necessity of his situation: he continued firm against all her remonstrances, and forbade the others to appear before him. Heaven declined the civility of the French marshal de Feuillade, who, by orders of his king, offered passes and a guard to the dutchess and his family, to carry them to a place of safe- A. D. 1706.

ty when Turin was besieged. The French lost fourteen thousand men before the place; but they made themselves masters of the strongest posts, and the ammunition of the besieged was almost exhausted. In this extremity, prince Eugene, after having surmounted incredible difficulties, on the 30th of August appeared near Turin, and two days after joined the duke of Savoy. The loss of the French, in the battle which ensued, was very great. Five thousand were killed, and eight thousand made prisoners. Two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, one hundred and eighty mortars, seven thousand eight hundred bombs, thirty-two thousand royal grenades, forty-eight thousand cannon balls, with a proportional number of small artillery and ammunition, fell into the hands of the confederates, with all their tents, baggage, money, and horses of every kind; so that upon the whole, the loss which the French sustained was incredible. The duke of Orleans retired into Dauphiné, and the duke of Savoy not only recovered all the towns and territories he had lost, but enabled the Imperialists to drive the French out of Lombardy. In the se-

A. D. 1713. quel, all parties concurred to aggrandize him, and some years after, he formally resigned his crown to the prince of Piedmont, Charles Emanuel, his son, reserving for himself a yearly income of one hundred thousand pounds.

The fate of Amadeus, in his retirement, ought to deter princes from the abdication of sovereignty. Harassed with the fatigues of government, and the restraint of court etiquette, he conceived the idea of a happy life in an agreeable

retreat, with a gay and blooming widow. Her name was madam de St. Sebastian. Amadeus gave her the title of countess of Sommerive, and without disclosing his intention to abdicate, married her a fortnight before he put his plan in execution.

His son Charles Emanuel III. succeeded him in the government, and often paid a visit to the retreat of his father. But an interested minister contrived to diminish that filial affection which he owed to his parent, whom this wretch now accused of plots to gain over the troops, and of conferences with physicians and apothecaries, men formidable sometimes to others besides their patients. These insinuations produced the intended effect. At midnight, the retreat of Amadeus was invested by troops; they entered by the light of torches, and having broken open the door of his chamber, it was filled with soldiers. They informed him, that they had an order from his son, to remove him to another place. The monarch refused to obey; A. D. 1730. they dragged him from bed, while clasping his spouse in his arms, and hurried him away to a house with laticed windows, which in every thing resembled a prison. His wife they conducted to a place for confining females guilty of irregularities. She was afterwards restored to her husband, but he never recovered his liberty. Grief affected his health. On his death-bed he wished to see his son; but though he promised not to reproach him for his conduct, his request was denied, and he died soon after.

Some years after the commencement of the

French revolution, Savoy was ceded by Charles Emanuel to that republick, of which it now constitutes one of the departments, under the name of the department of Mont Blanc. A. D. 1802.

END OF THE SIXTEENTH VOLUME, OR THE SEVENTH OF THE MODERN PART.

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